

SHIPWRECKS
AND
DISASTERS AT SEA;
OR
HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

OF THE
MOST NOTED CALAMITIES AND PROVIDENTIAL DELIVERANCES,
WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM

Maritime Enterprise :

WITH A SKETCH OF VARIOUS EXPEDIENTS FOR
PRESERVING THE

LIVES OF MARINERS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN a country such as Britain, where every individual is either immediately or remotely connected with the fortune of the sea, the casualties attendant on the mariner must be viewed with peculiar interest.

Our glory, our security, and our riches, alike rest in our dominion over the Ocean. It is the nursery where growing warriors are inured to enterprise, and taught to guard the soil of their nativity ; it proves a barrier to the most inveterate foe ; and it bears the produce of distant colonies to enhance the national wealth and prosperity. Yet all this may prove a source of misery and destruction to individuals. The mariner, in promoting the general good, or in obeying the calls of duty,

is exposed to nameless hazards, and too often falls a victim to the perils of the sea.

A natural desire to know the fate of their fellow-creatures seems implanted in the breast of mankind, and the most powerful sympathies are excited by listening to the misfortunes of the innocent. To record some impressive examples of calamity, or unlooked for deliverance, is the object of these pages, and in recapitulating the cause of disasters, to exhibit how, in many instances, they might possibly have been avoided.

Shipwreck may be ranked among the greatest evils which men can experience. It is never void of danger, frequently of fatal issue, and invariably productive of regret. It is one against which there is least resource, where patience, fortitude, and ingenuity are unavailing, except to protract a struggle with destiny, which, at length, proves irresistible.

But amidst the myriads unceasingly swallowed up by the deep, it is not by the numbers that we are to judge of the miseries endured. Hundreds may at once meet an instantaneous fate, hardly conscious of its approach, while a few individuals may linger out existence, daily in hope of suc-

cour, and at length be compelled to the horrible alternative of preying on each other for the support of life. Neither is it by the narratives about to be given, that we are to calculate on the frequency of shipwreck. It is an event that has been of constant occurrence since a period long anterior to what the earliest records can reach, and of which the examples are rare that meet our knowledge. Let us reflect how many vessels, belonging to our own country, disappear, with whose place of destination we are fully acquainted, and how numerous the lives that certainty discloses, are lost, in each successive tempest, and we shall only be too forcibly impressed with the truth. Perhaps not less than 5000 natives of these islands yearly perish at sea.

This perpetual exposure to peril, however, materially contributes to the formation of character, and hence are sailors, but those of Britain above all others, pre-eminently distinguished by courage, endurance, and ready invention. Habituated to the instability of the ocean, they make little account of danger, and are invariably the first in matters of the most daring enterprise. Incessantly subjected to toil, they labour long and patiently without murmur, and the prompt and

vigorous measures which are indispensable to their security, teach them the immediate application of whatever means are within their power.

All narratives of danger, difficulties, or deliverance, are not of equal interest. Some have originated solely in a desire to picture the distress of the sufferer, some in a principle of pious gratitude to heaven for escaping from impending destruction, and others in self-justification. The substance and style are varied according to the capacity of the relater; and his view or participation of the calamity described. Rude and uncouth, as proceeding from those little accustomed to such compositions, several have necessarily here undergone a partial modification. Yet the spirit of the original is always preserved, and to a certain extent the style. In general, it is to be remarked, that the simple and unaffected narratives of seamen, are the best and most impressive, though many abound with obscure, perplexed, and contradictory expressions, which will not admit of explanation. These are accordingly presented with their intrinsic imperfections. It can scarce appear surprising, indeed, if the successive incidents of every catastrophe related,

have not been retained in regular and minute detail.

Although it be difficult to guard against deceit, more especially where there may have been few testimonies, the admission of any narrative of suspicious credit has been anxiously avoided. Circumstances, in themselves apparently inconsiderable, frequently betray falsehood, or establish truth. It is not to be denied that there are instances of exaggerated descriptions, whereby the narrator demands more attention than he deserves, and is clamorous for merit to himself. Those by whom danger is held in greatest dread are most apt to magnify its approach, while those familiarized with it, undervalue its presence. Thus the narratives of seamen are commonly entitled to a greater degree of confidence than those of others.

The best authorities in various languages have invariably been resorted to in framing these volumes, as will be sufficiently evident on a cursory perusal. A few brief notices of countries or incidents connected with the narrative, are occasionally subjoined, which might possibly be carried to a greater extent in more ample elucidations.

Shipwreck has, of itself, opened a wide field of geographical information; and there is little doubt that, from the difficulty of release, many unfortunate persons who sailed in quest of their own country, have been incorporated with the savage tribes of inhospitable shores, and even now may languish in captivity. But it must always be a consolation to reflect, that there is scarce any condition, however deplorable, to which mankind by time and circumstances may not be reconciled. The human mind has been so moulded by nature, that former impressions die away, others usurp their place, and, in the anxiety of providing for immediate wants, the recollection of enjoyments is obliterated.

One point especially studied here, and which should be attended to in every historical relation, is resorting to the earliest authorities. Narrations by passing through many hands, are so much disfigured, and receive so many interpolations, as at length to become a fruitful source of error. At the same time, in several instances, this could not by any means be accomplished. The accounts which flow from the survivors of the unhappy catastrophes giving them birth, are brief and fugitive, and

however worthy of preservation, quickly disappear, from being dispersed among those who are equally incapable of appreciating their interest and utility, and thence are utterly lost.

Chronological order, whereby the events nearly according to their successive date are narrated, has been preferred, though more interest or entertainment might have resulted from a different arrangement. But as that would have been merely arbitrary, and without any guide or leading principle, the reference of the incidents to the periods of occurrence may be deemed the most regular method of presenting them. Circumstances that need not be detailed, have rendered it necessary to circumscribe the limits of this work, which will partly account for the exclusion of certain narratives, otherwise meriting a place: inability to recur to the originals, has occasioned the omission of others.

The lamentable consequences of shipwreck, and the hopeless condition of those whose safety it endangers, have led to various expedients for the preservation of the mariner. Though it be far from easy to convey a correct idea without actual delineation, a brief account of some of these

is subjoined. Inventions are brought to maturity by slow degrees, and the most unlikely incidents may sometimes tend to illustrate how defects can be avoided. From a general survey of numerous implements or machines at once presented to view, the mind passes with greater facility to the construction of others for analogous purposes. It becomes more inventive and ready to conceive the most effectual principles on which they must necessarily rest, and improvements are speedily suggested. That such expedients shall be beneficial in many desperate situations cannot be called in question; but it is commonly recommended by the most experienced seamen to abide by a wreck. Possibly their opinion is founded on too little confidence being put in the buoyancy of a ship's materials; for instances do occur, and some of them are related here, where a vessel has continued sinking down to the decks, menacing the miserable crew with instant death, and has then gained her equilibrium in the water. Boats of inconsiderable sizeth are capable, from the same cause, of performing voyages infinitely more arduous than what is usually credited, of which wonderful examples will appear in the sub-

sequent narratives. It is neither a tempestuous sea, scanty subsistence, nor remoteness from a haven of safety, that will always prove destructive to the mariner; but encouraging himself with hope, adopting prudential measures, and promising relief to those around him, will essentially contribute towards their preservation and his own.

SHIPWRECKS
AND
DISASTERS AT SEA.

VOL. I.

A



SHIPWRECKS

AND

DISASTERS AT SEA.

SHIPWRECK OF PIETRO QUIRINI,

NEAR THE COAST OF NORWAY, IN THE YEAR
1431*

GRATITUDE to providence, which, in its benignity, had preserved Pietro Quirini, a Venetian gentleman, and some of his companions, from the most imminent dangers, induced him to preserve an account of their joint misfortunes for the benefit of posterity. By doing so, he trusted to inspire others with confidence in Heaven, and that an impressive example would be afforded to infidel nations.

* * Two narratives have afforded the substance of what is here related, one entitled, *Vuaggio del Magnifico Messer Piero Quirini, gentiluomo Venetiano nel quale partito di Candia con malvagie perponente l'anno 1431, incorre in uno horribile e spaventoso naufragio, dal quale alla fine con diversi accidenti campato, arriva nella Norvegia e Suetia regni Settentrionali*; the other, *Naufragio del Messer Piero Quirini, descritto per Christoforo Fioravante e Nicolo di Michiel che vi si trovarono presenti*. Between these accounts some slight discrepancies appear, but none of such importance as to affect the general sense of the whole.

The desire of bettering his fortune prompted Quirini to take the command of a vessel at the island of Candia, laden for Flanders with a cargo of wine, cotton, and other valuable commodities, and he proposed carrying his only son along with him on the voyage. But, to his inexpressible sorrow, after the cargo was taken in and every thing prepared, the youth died within five days of his departure. This commencement of misfortunes was a severe blow to Quirini; and he saw himself at once deprived of the chief solace which he should have enjoyed in so long and dangerous a voyage.

On the 25th of April 1431, he sailed from the island of Candia, then under the government of the Venetians; but, driven by adverse winds, he ran along great part of the coast of Barbary, and, passing the Straits of Gibraltar on the 2d of June, approached the bay of Cadiz. His ship, however, through ignorance of the pilot, struck on the shoals of San Pietro, and displaced her rudder; and three leaks having sprung in three different places, the water rushed in with such violence, that incessant exertion was necessary to keep her dry. With much difficulty he made the port of Cadiz, and the vessel being unloaded, was put twenty-five days under repair, when her cargo was again received.

Quirini, in the meantime, understanding that the republics of Venice and Genoa were at war, considered it prudent to augment the number of his crew to sixty-eight. Then, setting sail on the 14th of July, he deliberated whether he should stand out from Cape St Vincent to avoid the enemy's ships; but, owing to a contrary wind at north-east off the land, which on that coast is cal-

led Agione, he was obliged to steer at a great distance from the continent, during forty-five days, and approached towards the Canary Isles, in a region with which he was entirely unacquainted, and which, by his countrymen, was judged extremely dangerous.

The stock of provisions on board now began to decline, and Quirini became alarmed for the safety of his crew, who also suffered severely from fatigue. But a fair wind springing up, and continuing some days, promised a prosperous voyage, until part of the iron work of the rudder gave way. Temporary expedients repaired it, and he reached Lisbon on the 29th of August. There every thing was replaced, the decayed iron was renewed, and a fresh stock of provisions being laid in, he set sail on the 14th of September.

On regaining the open sea, Quirini was still assailed by contrary winds, until the 26th of October that he reached the port of Mures, where, accompanied by thirteen of his crew, he went to perform his devotions at the church of St Jago. Quickly returning from thence, he sailed on the 28th with a favourable wind in the south-west, and, trusting to its continuance, advanced on the voyage, while Cape Finisterre and the land bore about 200 miles distant. On the 5th of November it shifted into an opposite point,—the south-east; whereas had it continued as before, the ship would soon have entered the British Channel: But increasing to a storm, she was drove past the Scilly islands. The mariners, on approaching the land, sounded and found fifty-five fathoms water, which deepened to ninety towards evening, the winds remaining variable and uncertain.

On St Martin's eve, the 10th of November, the

storm augmented in violence, attended by a prodigious swell, and the rudder broke loose: Five of the hinges gave way at the stern, the gudgeons being torn asunder, and the ship, then tossed about at the will of the waves, was driven to the westward. Quirini exerted himself to encourage his crew, who, with considerable labour, slung the rudder by strong ropes to the quarters of the vessel; but it again breaking loose, was dragged, as the people calculated, three hundred miles after her for the space of three days, when, by means of their utmost efforts, it was once more recovered and made fast.

The strength of the gale and the continuance of a heavy sea, drove the vessel still farther from the land, and, on the 11th of the month, Quirini fell in with two barks from Ireland, laden with salt for Spain, and with difficulty exchanged a few words with one of them, which was afterwards lost in the tempest.

Quirini finding that the disposition of his seamen shewed no bounds in satisfying their appetites, after frequent exhortation to spare the residue of their provisions, committed them to the charge of two or three on board. He specially enjoined an equal distribution to all, including himself; for this precaution would preserve them still a little longer, had their mishaps not yet come to a termination. The proposed measure met general approbation, and was immediately put in execution.

The danger was great and imminent, and Quirini, glad to withdraw, retired alone to his cabin.— There he reflected that death was before his eyes; but kings and princes, the high and the low, were all subjected to the like necessity: nevertheless

one chief source of consolation to him lay in religion.—His powers were renovated by these reflections; he thought less of the surrounding dangers, and hastened to cheer the depression of those who dwelt on their misfortunes. Nor were his words in vain.

In the next place, according to the carpenter's advice, as the vessel was driving with her broadside before the wind, two rudders of a triangular form were constructed out of masts and spars, to check her course; and, being properly secured, they had the desired effect, which inspired the mariners with renewed confidence. However, they were soon carried away; and another rudder which they contrived to hang, proved but an indifferent substitute, and was also tore off by the fury of the waves.

The storm had increased to such an extremity on the 25th of November, that all on board, apprehending their last day approaching, betook themselves to prayers. But the unexpected moderating of the weather preserved them from death, though they were always driven farther from the land. Owing to incessant rain and stress of the gale, the sails were so much weakened, that on attempting to hoist them, they successively split asunder; nor were others serviceable by which they were replaced. Thus the ship was tossed about, wanting those indispensable parts, sails and a rudder; and her straining opened her seams to the admission of such a quantity of water, that it could scarce be kept under.

The lead had often been cast without finding soundings, now, however, 80 fathoms were got in the morning with a mud bottom, and 120 at night. Three or four strong new cables being spliced

together, the ship, as a last resource, was brought to an anchor. Here she lay forty hours labouring very much, and pitched so violently that the strands of the cable were continually giving way. Therefore, one of the crew, alarmed at the prospect of still greater extremities, clandestinely cut the cable at the prow, and let the ship drive about as before. Most of the mariners, thus perpetually threatened with destruction, prepared, with Christian resignation, to meet their fate, though the words and actions of some denoted absolute desperation.

On the 4th of December the ship sunk deeper in the sea from the effect of four successive waves breaking over her, and the crew, though half dead and standing up to the middle in water, exerted themselves in baling incessantly. Rather better weather prevailed during the three subsequent days, but the gale freshening on the 7th raised a mountainous sea; sometimes the vessel rose to the clouds, or she descended into deep vallies among the waves, and amidst the darkness reigning around, the lightning darted in the most vivid flashes. While the ship heeled so much that the water run in by the gunwale, the crew, expecting to be swallowed up, stood gazing piteously on each other, not knowing what to do; at length, in hopes that she would right, they resolved to cut away the mast, as the only remedy; and, in accomplishing this, a pitch of the vessel threw it completely overboard, without touching the deck, as if it had been projected by mortal means. The ship laboured less, and the crew were occupied in freeing her of water during a dark and tedious night.

Quirini then made a short address to his companions, representing the lamentable necessity to which they were all reduced. They well knew, he said, that the vessel was quite unmanageable; now drifting at the mercy of the elements they had no power or control over her, and their provisions were rapidly declining. Remaining there was exposure to certain death, either in being swallowed up by the ocean, or in perishing from hunger. But should they abandon her and commit themselves to the boats along with their scanty residue of provisions, they might, through the aid of Heaven, be preserved, if the weather became a little more moderate. The crew unanimously assented to Quirini's proposal; they judged that the nearest coast was Ireland, about 700 miles distant, and preparations were made to leave the ship on the first favourable opportunity in the long-boat and yawl.

To evade all contention about who should embark in the yawl and who in the long-boat, Quirini next proposed casting lots, by the drawing of which, twenty-one should go on board the former, and forty-seven in the latter. But it singularly happened, that twenty-one volunteered to embark in the yawl, and though he was desired himself to make choice of either, he had privately resolved on taking to the yawl, because it seemed in very good condition; however, his officers having embarked in the long-boat, he altered his determination and went along with them.

Having settled this point, the people hastened to get out the boats, which was done with extreme difficulty from want of a mast; but, at dawn of the 17th, they launched them over the side of the ship into a heavy sea, the storm being somewhat less

vehement. Quirini called all those to him whose clothing seemed deficient, and supplied them with more; and the provisions were in the next place divided, according to the just proportion of their numbers, but the boats could contain very little wine.

The moment of separation was distressing to all. The crew embraced each other with many expressions of regret, and then did their commander abandon his unfortunate ship, which he had built with so much care and pleasure, and in the success of which he had rested his most sanguine hopes. He left her richly laden with 800 butts of Malmsey wine, logs of cedar-wood, spices of high value, and a quantity of fine silks and other merchandize.

The yawl soon afterwards parted company in a mist which rose towards night, and at day-break there was no appearance of her, nor was she ever heard of more. The others broke out into lamentations for their companions, who, as they judged, had perished, and apprehensions were entertained of sharing a similar fate, for now the tempest raised such a swell of the sea, that a wave washing over the stern of the boat filled her almost full of water. All hastened to bale, and, both from terror and necessity, threw overboard what came first to hand, among which were most part of their wine and provisions, and even some of their clothes. The boat being dry again, the loss of the wine rendered it necessary that each man should be reduced to a cup a-day, which allowance, after being continued eight days, was restricted to half a cup a-day.

The sufferings of the mariners had no diminution: day and night they were under the necessity of freeing their boat of water, and they were

pinched by cold infinitely surpassing what any of them had experienced in Venice, where, to the great wonder of the people, the frost was once so strong, that not only men, but even horses, carts, and waggons, were borne by the ice. The seamen were now more sensible of its severity from being thinly clothed, scantily provided with food, and exposed to the rigour of inclement nights twenty hours long. Their feet became benumbed, and the loss of sensation thence extended all over the body. ravenous hunger was excited, from which they greedily devoured whatever came within their reach. Then, suddenly struck by the hand of death, their heads quivered,—they dropped down and expired.

The first who suffered thus, were those addicted to drinking quantities of wine and standing constantly over the fire for heat; therefore the strongest were soonest affected by the suddenness of the change. In this way three or four died of a day, from the 19th until the 29th of December, or 5th of January, when twenty-six of the whole number had perished, and were committed to the deep by their companions.

All the wine being now expended, and the unfortunate mariners seeing no prospect of termination to their sufferings, they again prepared for death, Quirini himself regretting that he was not one of those who had gone before. But some, still desirous of protracting life, drank salt water, which proved fatal sooner or later, according to the strength of their constitution. Quirini and a few others tried to quench their burning thirst by mixing their own urine with a little remaining syrup of ginger and lemon, and found it instrumental in preserving their lives.

In this deplorable condition the mariners passed five days, when, on the 3d or 4th of January, one of the crew saw something like lofty rocks covered with snow, about day-break. He anxiously told his discovery to the rest, who, turning their eyes in that direction, impatiently awaited the brightening of the day, when, to their inexpressible joy, land was indubitably recognized.

The sight of it inspired them with renewed vigour, but the wind being adverse, the sails of the boat proved useless, and their strength was too much enfeebled to admit of their oars being plied with effect. Now the day was only two hours long, and the wind and the currents carrying the boat away, the land disappeared from their view. Night overtook the mariners, during which they remained in a state of painful suspense, and in the morning nothing was to be seen. In the course of the day, however, they came in sight of more lofty rocks to leeward, which, according to appearances, might be gained with greater facility than the others ; and not to miss the land in the ensuing darkness, took its bearings by compass.

About three in the morning they suddenly found themselves among shoals and broken water, and a wave breaking into the boat, exposed them to the most imminent danger. Again the joy of the mariners was converted to regret, and bewailing the unceasing persecution of misfortune, they recommended themselves to the protection of providence. The boat ran aground, when happily, another wave lifting her up, carried her ashore close to a rock, where she lay in perfect security.

Whenever the boat grounded, five of the people, impatient to quench their thirst, leapt overboard, and hastened to swallow incredible quantities of

snow on shore, and carried it on board to their comrades, who were keeping the boat from being staved on the rocks. Thus did they try to assuage their parching thirst ; and Quirini declares his belief, that he swallowed as much snow as he could have carried. To its salutary consequences he ascribed the preservation of his life, while two of the crew died, as was judged, from drinking salt water.

Wanting ropes and all other means of securing the boat, the crew remained the whole night in her to keep her off the shore ; and next morning sixteen, the only survivors of the forty-seven who had embarked, landed. Finding nothing else, they laid themselves down on the snow, thanking Heaven for their providential escape. Hunger next compelling them to examine into the state of their provisions, these proved to consist of some fragments of biscuit in bad condition in the bottom of a bag, a ham, and small piece of cheese, which being heated by a little fire made of the seats of the boat, somewhat satisfied their hunger.

The people having ascertained that the place of their refuge was a barren rock, determined to leave it next day. Filling five casks with snow-water, they accordingly embarked, uncertain whither to go. But the moment of entering the boat, the water rushed in by the seams in torrents, owing to the want of precaution to secure her from beating against the rocks the night preceding. Two of the people left to keep her off becoming impatient for the return of their comrades, had leapt ashore to warm their frozen limbs, and she thence received so much injury as immediately to go to the bottom. Drenched in the sea, the mariners were therefore again forced to seek the shore.

During the eighteen days which had elapsed since leaving the ship, they calculated that they had run 2500 miles without coming in sight of land, and that they were now on the *Saints Islands*, on the Norwegian coast, subject to the crown of Denmark*. Though their case was deplorable, the people considered it as nothing compared with the dangers of a stormy sea, where they could have survived but a very little longer; and here they frained two small tents from the sails and oars of the boat, for shelter against the weather, while other pieces of it were cut down for fire wood.

The only food which could be procured consisted of sea-weed, and mussels, or other small shell-fish picked up along the shore, but scarce enough to satisfy the cravings of nature. The crew were then divided into two companies, there being thirteen in one tent and three in the other; part lying among the snow, and part sitting around a fire, the smoke of which, proceeding from damp wood, was almost intolerable. Their eyes swelled to such a degree with it as threatened total destruction of sight; and what was equally bad, their bodies were overrun by vermin, which they threw by handfuls into the fire. Nay, the neck of Quirini's secretary was eaten by them down to the sinews, and in his opinion was the cause of his death. Three strong healthy Spaniards also died, as was supposed, from the effects of drinking sea-water; and with regard to the remaining thirteen, they were so weak and exhausted that for three days

* Perhaps the islands of *Heyligeland* on the west coast of Norway in 66° lat. north, are meant: though it is probable that the mariners were then considerably farther north. The geographical descriptions in the original are extremely obscure.

and nights they were incapable of dragging the bodies of their deceased companions out of the tent.

Thus they remained eleven days, when Quirini's servant, going out to gather mussels, discovered a wooden hut at the most remote part of the rock, and near it the marks of cattle, which inspired them with some hope of the proximity of human habitations. The hut being in an entire condition, the whole company resolved to transfer their abode thither, and accordingly all, except two or three who were greatly extenuated, did so, carrying several bundles of firewood along with them. Though only a mile and a half distant, Quirini, from extreme debility, could scarce make out the journey, and found much difficulty in wading through the snow; but after reaching the hut, he was satisfied that inhabited places were not far off.

Two days afterwards one of the men engaged in searching for mussels on the shore, fortunately discovered a large fish, weighing not less than 200 pounds, which seemed recently cast up, and was quite fresh. At this time, however, dissention had weakened the crew, and they were divided into two parties. The man who found the fish wished to conceal his discovery from the other party; but they coming to the knowledge of it determined also to have a share, if not by persuasion, by force. Quirini interposing, ordained an equal distribution among all, and the prize being cut in pieces was carried home. There the people immediately began boiling and broiling it, though some, impatient of awaiting so tedious a process, hastened to devour it raw. In this way they fed ravenously during four days, when the rapid decrease of

the fish reminded them of the necessity of preserving greater economy. Therefore, from a frugal partition of the remainder, it lasted ten days longer, during such a tempest of wind, rain, and snow, that they would have found it impossible to procure other provisions. Then they were obliged to resort to their old occupation of searching for mussels along the shore, until the last day of January 1432.

At length a fisherman, who dwelt on a neighbouring rock about eight miles distant, called Rustene, came, along with his two sons, to this desert place, to look after some cattle which they had left upon it. While the father staid on the shore to take care of the boat, the sons advanced towards the hut, and, to their great astonishment, saw smoke issuing from the top: Beginning to discourse concerning the cause of smoke coming from a place uninhabited, the sound of their voices reached the ear of Christopher Fioravante, who exclaimed to his companions, "Do not you hear human voices?" But they answered, "It is only those ominous birds of prey, awaiting our end that they may prey on our bodies, as they have done on our departed comrades." The others assented the more readily to his words from at that moment observing multitudes of crows devouring the corpses of those who had died.

But the voices now becoming plainer, the seamen left the hut, and descried the two young men, who were alarmed, and began to grow pale at the sight of so many strangers. They soon ascertained, however, that they were persons in distress, therefore they began to speak, naming their residence and other things, but Quirini could not understand their language. Meantime two of his own people went to the boat in hopes of ob-

taining some provisions, and, from seeing nothing there, they judged that their visitors had made only a short voyage. Therefore they determined that two of themselves should return in the boat, which could carry no more, and some of their number thought it would be prudent to detain one of the youths, that assistance might the sooner be afforded. But Quirini justly concluded, that it would be inexpedient to offer any offence to those in whose power it lay to bring them relief. Thus two of his people, Ghirardo di Lione and Cola di Otranto, who understood a little French and German embarked, endeavouring by signs to make the fishermen comprehend what they wanted. The boat then departed, leaving the remainder of the mariners in a state of great anxiety; and, as it did not return during a whole day and a night, they apprehended that it had been overloaded and sunk.

The cause of delay, however, arose from all the inhabitants of the rock being out fishing, which prevented them from learning the necessitous state of the people; but their pastor, who was a German, having got some information from one of the two seamen, a Fleming, imparted their condition in such pathetic terms to his congregation, and, at the same time, shewing them the two before him, and offering a blessing to those who should first render assistance, that all were moved even to tears.

No less than six boats, with abundance of provisions, arrived at the abode of the shipwrecked mariners, whose joy, at experiencing so much friendship and charity, can well be figured. The pastor, who proved to be a Dominican monk, accompanied them, and on his arrival inquired, in

Latin, which had been captain of the shipwrecked vessel. When Quirini made himself known, he presented him with some rye-bread, which he looked on as manna, and also some beer to drink. The priest then, taking him by the hand, desired him to select two of his companions to embark along with him. Quirini, therefore, chose Francis Quirini of Candia, and Christopher Fioravante, a Venetian. All four embarked in the boat which belonged to the principal person of Rustene, who was a fisherman; and, on landing there, Quirini was supported on his son's arm, being unable to walk from weakness.

Quirini, on entering a house, met the mistress of it attended by a maid, and, in imitation of those Greek slaves whom he had seen prostrate themselves at the feet of their mistresses, was about to do the same, when she prevented him. In compassion for his condition, she led him towards the fire, and supplied him with a basin of milk; and, during three months and a half that he resided there, he ever afterwards experienced the utmost kindness.

The rest of his companions, eight or ten in number, were distributed in other houses; and treated with equal hospitality, being abundantly supplied with food, which they devoured in such quantities, that, from their previous abstinence, it was likely to prove pernicious.

Two seamen, however, were still on the rock, whose weakness, and being at some distance, precluded them from knowing what was going on; and these the inhabitants returned to succour. But one of them was found dead, and the other in great extremity. The former was decently interred, along with the corpses of eight who had deceased,

and a funeral service performed over them. The survivor was carried to Rustene from the Isle of Saints, where he expired in two days.

Rustene contained about twelve huts, and was inhabited by 120 souls, of whom 72, like good and pious Catholics, communicated on Easter day. Most of them were fishermen, and, no grain being produced in that remote country, they lived on fish chiefly, of which prodigious quantities were taken. Of these there were only two kinds, one called stock-fish, the other of a flat form, and of large size, even to two hundred pounds in weight. The former were dried in the sun, and little moisture being in them, soon became as hard as wood; when used they were beaten into long stripes with the back of a hatchet, and ate with butter and spices. With this article the inhabitants carried on a great trade to Germany. The flat fish were very large, some exceeding six Venetian feet in length, two in breadth, and three quarters of a foot in thickness. Cut into pieces and salted they were very good food.

In the month of May a vessel of about fifty tons was laden with fish and carried to Bergen in Norway a thousand miles distant, where many ships of three hundred or three hundred and fifty tons burden arrived with the produce of Germany, England, Scotland, and Russia, and the fish there bartered for food and clothing. The country was unproductive, and the inhabitants had no use for money. Immediately on finishing their traffic, they returned home, touching at some place in the way to procure wood to serve the whole year for fuel, and other exigencies.

The people of Rustene, both males and females, were an honest and comely race; they locked up

none of their property, nor did they entertain any doubts of the virtue of their women, as was clearly proved to the mariners. All the members of a family, husbands and wives, sons and daughters, slept in the same apartment, in which also the strangers were lodged; and their beds stood close together. The females, in their simplicity, made no scruple of completely stripping themselves; nay, when going to the bath, a bow-shot distant, they walked quite naked, with perfect indifference, carrying nothing but a small bundle of herbs in the right hand, to wipe the moisture off their skin, and resting the left on their loins; and when in the bath, they mixed promiscuously with men. Adultery and irregularities were quite unknown among them, and their only inducement to marry, was obedience to the divine command. They were extremely moderate and devout, all oaths and execrations being unheard among them. Great resignation was testified on the death of any of their relations; and, if the survivor was a widow, she clothed herself in her best attire, and, inviting her neighbours to a sumptuous banquet, intreated them to partake freely of it for the repose of the deceased. Appointed fasts were religiously kept by them, and they regularly repaired to divine service in decent apparel.

Those people chiefly wore coarse blue English cloths, and cheap caps brought from Denmark: some had red and black furs to exclude the wet. Their houses were of a roundish form, made of wood, with a hole in the top, as a window: and during the excessive cold of winter this was covered with a piece of fish skin, which, they knew to prepare so as to be transparent and admit the light. To inure themselves to cold, new born infants,

those only four days old, were laid under the open window, that the snow might fall upon them; it snowed almost continually the whole time of Quirini's abode, from the 5th of February to the 14th of May; and by this means the children were so much accustomed to cold, that they never thought of its severity.

In the beginning of spring, an immense number of wild geese, called *muxi* by the inhabitants, arrived, and built their nests on the rock, or against the sides of the houses: the cessation of their cackling at sunset was a signal for the people to retire to rest. They were quite tame, and frequented the habitations of men like house-pigeons, insomuch, that when the mistress of the house went to take eggs out of a nest, the goose would walk leisurely away, and return again when she was gone. Here the strangers saw fine white bear-skins, twelve Venetian feet in length, which they considered an astonishing size.

From the 20th of November until the 20th of February, the day was never above twenty-one hours long; and from the 20th of May until the 20th of August, the sun was always above the horizon. The island, which was three miles in circumference, was low-lying, except where the houses stood: situate seventy miles west of the Cape of Norway, and was called by its inhabitants, the Outskirts of the World. In its vicinity were some other small rocks, partly desert and partly inhabited. The shipwrecked mariners were treated with uncommon hospitality in the house, supplied with fish, and sometimes also with butter and quantities of milk, for some of the people had four, and some six cows.

On the island of Rustene they remained three months and eleven days, awaiting the month of May, which was the time of conveying the stock-fish to Bergen; and then the inhabitants prepared to carry the strangers thither. Some days previous to their departure, intelligence that they were there reached the wife of the governor of these islands, who, in absence of her husband, sent her chaplain, in a twelve-oared bark, with a present of sixty dried fish to Quirini, three large loaves of rye, and a cake. She intimated, at the same time, that the reason of her doing so, was from understanding that his hosts had not treated his people well: she desired to know the truth of the matter, enjoining the inhabitants of the island to give them good cheer and conduct them to Bergen. In returning thanks to their benefactor, the mariners fully exculpated their hosts, and spoke of the reception they had experienced in terms of high commendation; and Quirini, having yet preserved a string of amber beads, which he had procured on his pilgrimage to St Jago in Galicia, sent it to her as an acknowledgement, and that she might invoke God for the safe return of him and his companions to their native country.

The period of departure approaching, the inhabitants of the island, at the instigation of their pastor, who was a German monk predicant, demanded two crowns a month from the mariners, that is seven a-piece for the time of their stay. Not being able to raise a large enough sum among them, they supplied the monks with six silver cups, six spoons, and six forks, besides girdles, rings, and articles of less value. Most of these things fell into the hands of the abbot's priest, who made no scruple of keeping them, under pretence of having acted as inter-

preter. The mariners thus having nothing left of their unfortunate voyage, on the day of departure, all the inhabitants made presents to them of fish ; and, at bidding farewell, the women and children shed tears, as the mariners even did themselves. The priest accompanied them on the voyage in order to visit his archbishop, and carry him part of the spoil.

They sailed from Rustene on the 14th of May, when the day had lengthened very much, and, towards the end of the same month, the sun was forty-eight whole hours in sight. Then prosecuting their voyage farther, he disappeared an hour below the horizon, though it remained quite light all the time, and in this manner confirmed the truth of what the inhabitants of the island had said. When about two hundred miles from the island, they discovered some planks and ribs of their yawl, whence they concluded that the party she contained had certainly perished. Many islands were passed, some of which only were inhabited ; when the priest made their case known, benefits were lavished upon them, nor would the inhabitants accept of any recompence in return. Numberless sea-fowl built their nests on the rocks, and made a hideous noise and screaming throughout the day, but as night approached they ceased, and here also afforded a signal to the mariners that the hour of repose was come.

The voyage was thus continued for sixteen days with favourable winds, Quirini observing many headlands, and being in deep water. He happened to meet with the Archbishop of Drontheim, whom the priest was about to visit, making a circuit among all the islands in his diocese. About two hundred persons were in his

retinue, contained in two galleys. When the strangers were introduced to him, he consoled them greatly on hearing a recital of their misfortunes; and that they might be insured of a good reception, provided them with letters to Drontheim, his see.

Proceeding towards that town, the master of the vessel having learned that war had broke out between the Germans and his sovereign the king of Norway, he hesitated on advancing further. But he landed Quirini on a small inhabited island in the vicinity, recommending him and his company to the people. Next morning, being Ascension-day, they were conducted to Drontheim, where they heard mass in a magnificent church dedicated to St Olave, king of Norway, who was buried there. When the service was finished, they were introduced to the governor, then present, who, on understanding who and what they were, and their condition, shewed great consideration of it. He asked Quirini whether he could speak Latin, and, being answered in the affirmative, invited him and his people to dinner. After a short time further occupied in the church, a canon came to conduct them to the governor, and to his astonishment, heard the particulars of Quirini's adventures on the way. Many of the citizens of Drontheim were assembled at the governor's house, but more to listen to Quirini's story, than to partake of the entertainment. The strangers were comfortably accommodated, and plentifully supplied with food.

Next day Quirini consulted his hospitable friends how he might reach England or Germany. They were of opinion, that the prevailing wars rendered a long voyage unsafe, and that he should

therefore repair to Juan Franco, a countryman of his own, who had been knighted by the king of Sweden, and lived in one of his castles in Sweden, about fifty days journey distant from Drontheim. Thus, after residing eight days at Drontheim, he departed under the care of a guide. The governor presented him with two horses, and provided him with the guide; but he having given his dried fish, a silver seal, and a silver girdle, in acknowledgement of the favour, received further in return, boots, spurs, a hat, and a leathern portmanteau: as also a small axe in honour of St Olave, with his arms upon it, four Rhenish guilders, some bread, and herrings. All the party, being twelve in number, then set out on their journey, on the 9th of June, with three horses, including one which had formerly been presented to Quirini by the Archbishop of Drontheim.

During fifty-three days, they travelled constantly to the eastward, meeting with very bad accommodation in some places, and several times could not obtain bread. Elsewhere, the bark of trees ground down, and made into a soft kind of cake, with milk and butter, was ate instead of it. But the travellers got cheese, milk, and whey to drink. In advancing, too, they occasionally came to better lodging, where they had meat, beer, and other necessities. But one thing lavished on them as before, was a kind and hospitable reception; therefore, wherever they went, they received a hearty welcome,

Very few habitations were dispersed throughout the kingdom of Norway, and the travellers often stopped at the hour of repose, though it was not dark, for then constant light prevailed. Their guide, acquainted with the customs of the coun-

try, opened the door of the house, where they found a table surrounded by forms and leather cushions stuffed with feathers; which served instead of mattresses. As every thing stood open, they partook of what victuals they saw and went to rest. Frequently the hosts came in, and contemplated them while asleep, with great astonishment, while the guide told their story, and then they were viewed with sentiments of compassion and wonder united. No payment was accepted; so that the twelve men and three horses were maintained during their journey of fifty-three days, for the four florins that they had received at Drontheim.

In the course of this journey, the travellers passed many lofty mountains, with dry and frightful vallies intervening, and saw a great number of wild animals, such as deer: and they also saw heathfowl as white as snow, and pheasants the size of geese. In St Olave's church, in the metropolitan see, they had been shewn the skin of a white bear, fourteen feet and a half in length. Gertalcons, goshawks, and other birds of prey, were whiter there than common, owing to the excessive cold.

Four days before reaching Stichimbourg Castle, the residence of the Chevalier Juan Franco, the travellers came to Wadstena, the place of St Bridget's nativity, who there founded a strict order of nuns and chaplains: and in honour of her the northern princes had built a magnificent church, covered with copper, in which Quirini counted sixty-two altars. The monastery being possessed of great riches, which were appropriated to relieve the necessities of the poor, the strangers were kindly entertained, and their necessities abun-

dantly supplied: and soon afterwards, set out for the castle of their countryman. But two of the party having advanced about twice the length of a bow-shot before the rest, found two roads, and unluckily chose the wrong one. Their companions took the other, and after halting on the way for them, gave them up as lost. On arriving at Stichimbourg, however, they found the stragglers, who had taken a shorter, though more rugged way, and arrived before them.

Inconceivable satisfaction was derived by the strangers, on reaching their countryman: nothing was spared by him to promote their comfort, for courtesy and liberality were his, both by habit and nature. During fifteen days residence, they were as well treated by every one as if they had been in their own houses.

The Chevalier Juan Franco, was desirous that his guests should attend an indulgence then given at St Bridget's church of Wadstena, whither innumerable Christians repaired, from distant quarters. He wished, in addition to their partaking of the indulgence, that they might learn, whether there were ships in any of the ports, bound for Germany or England, countries through which they were obliged to travel, in the way to their own.

Thus they set out with the chevalier, who had above an hundred and twenty people in his suite, all mounted, and at his own expence; and in their journey, which lasted five days, they were conveniently lodged in villages belonging to their countryman.

Numberless people were found assembled at Wadstena: many of them knights with their attendants, who had come from places in Denmark, six hundred miles distant. Others from countries

beyond seas, such as Germany, Holland, and Scotland, and many by land, from Sweden and Norway. Here they were informed, that at Lodese, a sea-port about eight days journey from Wadstena, two vessels were lying, one bound for Rostock, in Germany, the other for England, which was a fortunate occurrence. The strangers received their indulgence on the first of August, and on the third, took leave of the Chevalier Juan Franco, who entrusted his son Matthew, an amiable young man, with the charge of conducting them to Lodese. Seeing the weakness of Quirini, he generously presented him with his own horse, an animal of the softest pace: and unless for that quality, Quirini would have been seriously incommoded. On reaching Lodese, the travellers were lodged in a house there, also belonging to the Chevalier: and were treated by the son with equal attention as they had been treated by the father.

The vessel for Rostock being ready, Nicolo de Michiel, Christopher Fioravante, and Ghirardo di Leone, embarked in her. The eight remaining of the ship's company, having been provided with all necessaries by the Chevalier's son Matthew, sailed for England some days afterwards, on the 14th of September. Favourable winds carried them in eight days to Ely, in England, where the master of the vessel, after having learned the misfortunes of his passengers, charitably presented Quirini with four nobles, and in two days he set out on the way to London.

From Ely, he went by a boat to Cambridge, which was a large place, with a college, and repaired to a celebrated monastery to hear mass. During its performance, a Benedictine monk,

judging, by his appearance, of his superiority above the rest, said in Latin, that he wished to speak with him after mass. Accordingly, conducting him to a remote part of the church, he questioned him as to his name and country, and then put sixteen crowns in his hand; saying that he was about to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and that he should stop in Venice, and seek Quirini. The alms were gratefully accepted, and appropriated by Quirini to pay the charges of himself and companions at the inn where they lodged. Here he could not help admiring the divine interposition by which, though destitute of property, he had every day been supplied with food, after leaving the barren rock in the ocean.

Having left Cambridge next day he reached London, where the pilot, Bernard de Caglieri, and other two had already arrived, and had informed some Italian merchants Nicolo Capello, and others of his approach. Quirini's joy at their coming several miles from London to meet him, may be conceived; they looked on him as one risen from the dead, and embraced him with tears in their eyes. He and his people were accommodated in their houses, and treated as if they had been their own brothers. Quirini being unable to go abroad, was visited by John de Marconova, who carried home with him two gentlemen of Candia, Francis Quirini, and Peter Gradenico, his nephew, of the shipwrecked company: from their dangerous condition, brought on by the fatigues of the journey, they could not otherwise be suitably provided for. Quirini himself lived with Victor Capello, and Jerome Bragadin, who spared nothing to promote his comfort, and to aid the restoration of his health.

Some days afterwards, two of the company, Bernard di Caglieri, the pilot, and Andrew di Piero, a seaman, departed to fulfil a vow : Quirini remaining in London, with his faithful servant Nicolo, who always shewed more regard for his life than his own, Alvise di Nasimber, Francis Quirini, and Peter Gradenico. Those who departed, were supplied with money, to provide for their necessities.

The rest staid, though reluctantly, two months longer in London, but they still appeared so weak and exhausted, that their friends would not allow them to depart. All were clothed and entertained according to their respective station, nor would Quirini's friends by any means admit of indemnification for what was bestowed.

The time of departure arriving, Quirini at length left London along with Jerome Bragadin, one of his benefactors, and having crossed the sea, some of the mariners separated from him to fulfil their vows ; and Francis Quirini and Peter Gradenico took another road. Quirini and Jerome Bragadin, travelling by Basle, reached Venice after a journey of forty-two days. At Brugia, he learnt that the vessel which he saw off 'Capo Clear' on the Irish coast, at the commencement of his misfortunes, had been lost on the 11th of November 1431.

Pietro Quirini was naturally of a weak and delicate habit ; but after enduring so many hardships, his constitution changed, and he became strong and robust.

The remainder of the party who had separated from their companions to sail for Rostock, designed travelling towards Rome, and reached Venice on the 12th of October 1432, after a tedi-

ous and fatiguing journey, Ghirardo di Lione being left at Vasenech.

Bernardo di Cagliari, when setting out on the voyage, had left a young wife behind him, who, from the length of time and common report, concluded that the ship and all she contained were lost. There being no reason whatever to suppose the reverse, she married again at Treviso, and had lived several months with her second husband. However, on discovering that the first survived, she immediately forsook the other, retiring to a monastery, to expiate, in seclusion, the involuntary error she had committed. But, Bernardo her husband, making all allowances for the step she had taken, and excusing the frailty of nature, reclaimed her to himself, and lived happily with her afterwards. *

Little more is now known concerning the islands on the north west coast of Norway, than what is related by Quirini, for they are too inconsiderable to become the objects of attention. The island Rustene is certainly Roest or Rust of the present day, lying in $67^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude, and belonging to the Loffoeden or Loffoeren isles in the north sea. Nevertheless, some authors have supposed Rust, or its immediate neighbourhood, the scene of the perilous navigations of Ulysses, and the Maelstrom, a noted whirlpool in the vicinity, to be the Charybdis described by Homer. With the terrors of the Maelstrom mariners are well acquainted: it roars like a cataract, and vessels coming within its sphere, are irresistibly absorbed in a vortex, and dashed to pieces. During a storm, its fury is prodigiously augmented, whales have been carried down in the current, and vessels

several miles from the centre suddenly drawn in, and destroyed before their mariners even suspected danger. Tracing the course of Quirini, it would appear from certain charts that he passed close to the Maelstrom; but according to the strictest conclusions deduced from his own accounts, and those of others, he was not quite so far north. The island of Rust seems twenty or thirty miles distant from it.

Some of the facts described by Quirini, are yet exemplified among the Norwegians, so slow is the progress of improvement in ungenial climates. They are celebrated for the same hospitality which he experienced, and are a friendly, courageous, and hardy people. Like other mountaineers, they entertain a strong attachment to their own country, considering it and themselves as the most favoured of the universe; and this sentiment being encouraged by their government, there is inscribed on one of the Norwegian medals, "Valour, fidelity, and every thing praise-worthy, may be seen by all the world among the mountains of Norway." The inhabitants are so hospitable, that a traveller is seldom allowed to return any indemnification for what he receives, and a ready welcome always awaits him. In time of scarcity, a kind of bread is made from the bark of trees, as was done in 1743 and 1744; when the bark of the fir was boiled, and after being dried before the fire, was ground down: a little oatmeal added to it, constituted the bread, which, though supporting life, afforded an indifferent nourishment. The people of that country are hardy; and, in corroboration of what Quirini relates of their children, peasants have been seen to throw themselves on the snow, while yet bedewed by profuse perspiration from

severe labour, to cool and refresh themselves, and to suck it in to quench their thirst. The constitution with which the fishermen of the Norwegian islands are endowed, is at present the subject of admiration to their more intelligent countrymen. Both sexes assemble in thousands, towards the middle of January, to gain their winter supplies from the stores of the ocean. Each family provides five or six weeks provisions, principally consisting of salt fish, and its members keep out at sea all day, and a great part of the night, during moonshine, in their open boats. Then returning, they seek repose from their laborious occupations, by crowding in scores into huts, where they have scarce room to turn themselves : and though this be done in their wet clothes, and the women participate equal hardships with the men, it is not only without complaint, but as much cheerfulness is shewn as if they had met for the purpose of conviviality.

The singular custom of promiscuous bathing, as related by Quirini, is still practised in the north ; where also, from the rarity of glass-panes, a transparent preparation of fish skin is used for windows during winter.—Thus the fidelity of the original narratives is confirmed by these and many other instances, to be found in the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

FAMINE IN LE JACQUES,

A FRENCH VESSEL, ON A VOYAGE FROM BRAZIL, 1558. BY JOHN LERY

As the original object of the voyage in which Lery embarked is of little moment to this work, it is scarce necessary to give any account of it: nevertheless, we may briefly remark that Nicolas Durand de Villagagnon, a knight of Malta, having abjured the Roman Catholic faith, formed the design of establishing a colony of Protestants on the coast of Brazil in South America; and, in the year 1555, began to put his plan in execution.

Villagagnon proved so successful, and found his enterprise so interesting to himself and others, that his nephew obtained the royal authority to fit out three vessels with further supplies, which sailed for Brazil in December 1556. The first of these, called the Young Roberga, carried 80 persons in all; the second, the Old Roberga, in which was John Lery, a priest, contained 120 souls; and the third, cal-

* The original work, whence this narrative is derived, was published in French; but as no copy of it could be procured in Britain, what follows has been compiled from two Latin translations, one intitled LERII *Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam*, published by De Bry in 1592; and the other published in a different form at Geneva in 1594. It appears that Lery himself translated his work into Latin.

led the *Rose*, had on board 90 individuals, among whom were five young women and a governess. Those of their own sex in South America beheld the latter with astonishment, never before having seen females in clothing.

In a few days, these vessels fell in with two British merchantmen, which they pillaged, contrary to the will of their own commanders: whereupon Lery utters an invective against the rapacity of seamen, and observes, that, soon afterwards having taken possession of a Portuguese bark, which was unable to escape, they destroyed her sails, and turned the crew adrift with scarce a crust of bread. Whence, he conjectures, they must either have been lost at sea, or, if they did not meet some other ship, have died of hunger.

The vessels reached America in the following March, and landed in a bay, called Ganabara by the natives, at the mouth of the Rio de Janeiro of the Portuguese. In entering they discharged a salute, which was answered from a fort that had been erected by Villagagnon.

Here Lery found abundance to satisfy his curiosity; the face of the country, its products, and the manners of the savage inhabitants, all afforded ample scope for observation; and he has left an accurate and interesting description of them.

Villagagnon had established himself on an island, and the last comers were accommodated on another, about two miles distant: these places were strong by nature, but, to repress the incursions of an enemy still more effectually, a fort, named in compliment after Admiral de Coligny, had been erected, and cottages served the various settlers.

Lery and his companions having resided eight months on the same island with Villagagnon, were,

in consequence of certain dissensions, banished by him from it ; and therefore moved their quarters to the main land, which was not far off. But in addition to the dissensions which had occasioned their dismissal, new ones arose, and others of Villagagnon's adherents, separating from him, joined the party to which Lery belonged.

A divided colony being unsuitable for the purposes for which the colonists had left their own country, some of them entertained a desire to return. They were not long without an opportunity ; for a French vessel, *le Jacques*, having taken in a cargo, gave them a passage, and sailed from Brazil with forty-five persons on board ; of these twenty-five were the crew of the ship, the remainder passengers ; and in January they committed themselves to the ocean, not void of apprehension for the issue of the voyage.

At an early period the vessel was embarrassed in clearing an extensive shoal, stretching sixty miles into the sea, and light winds were overcome by the contending currents, which threatened to dash her against the rocks and banks composing it. Though preserved from this danger, she was driven back and tossed about seven days, during which she made very inconsiderable progress.

The seamen, on pumping the ship at midnight, as usual, were surprised to find themselves unable to free her of water ; and the master, on going down to the hold, discovered a dangerous leak. Every exertion became necessary to keep it under ; all hands were instantly set to the pumps, where they continued twelve hours without intermission ; yet little effect followed, for the water rushed in by vast quantities, and the vessel being laden with dye-wood, it was discharged from the pumps as

red as blood. The danger became more imminent, and the crew were exhausted with labour, when advantage was taken of the wind to regain the American coast, which next day came in sight.

Meantime, the carpenter and some of the seamen having discovered the place of the leak, contrived to stop it by means of grease, lead, cloths, and other things, wherewith the passengers willingly supplied them, and thus obtained a little respite from their fatigues. The carpenter, however, declared the unfitness of the ship for the voyage, being old and worm-eaten in the hull; on which account, many who had embarked, rather than run the dangers of the sea, wished to return ashore, and there await some future opportunity. But the master afraid, that if he once made the land, he should be deserted by his crew, declared, that he would expose himself to all hazards to avoid such consequences, which might eventually occasion the loss of both the ship and cargo. At the same time, if the passengers, and Philip Dupont, their leader, chose to return to Brazil, he should provide them with a boat to do so. Philip expressing his intention to remain, the master represented the dangers of such a voyage, and also that the provisions were insufficient to support so many people. Six of the passengers, therefore, among whom was Lery, agreed to return, not being above 20 miles from the shore.

They hastily threw their chests, with a very small portion of meat and drink, into the boat: when one of those remaining behind, at bidding Lery adieu, took him by the hand, saying, "Stay with us, I beseech you; even should we never reach France, and should we be forced to take refuge in Peru, or in any island in the ocean, we

shall enjoy more peace than by returning under the rule of Villagagnon." Lery, moved by his persuasion, left a quantity of his things in the boat, and quickly ascended the ship's side. The other five departed, and, with much difficulty, gained the shore: but it was well for the rest that they had not followed their example, for three of them were afterwards strangled by means of Villagagnon.

Their companions then hoisted sail, and resumed the voyage in an old, crazy, and ill provided vessel in which they were again tossed about by adverse winds the whole month of January. In their course they discovered a beautiful island, which was the only land seen for five months, about a mile in circumference, and covered with trees of the finest foliage. A number of birds of elegant plumage, black, white, and green, the size of a pigeon, were fluttering in the air, and, coming to the vessel, suffered themselves to be caught.

Towards the end of February, fifty days had elapsed since the departure of the navigators, and two-thirds of the voyage still remained to be accomplished, while a large proportion of the provisions had been consumed. It was therefore debated, whether they should bear away for Cape St Roche; but a majority resolved, from the uncertainty of there obtaining supplies, that it was better to kill the monkeys and parrots, of which numbers had been brought from Brazil.

At length, having passed the line, they augured a favourable issue to their voyage; but an unexpected incident once more exposed them to hazard. From a quarrel between one of the mates and the pilot, neither did his duty, and, amidst the negligence of both, a squall took the ship, when under sail,

laying her on her beam-ends. The loose articles on deck were washed overboard, and the passengers apprehended that the vessel would never rise again; however, the rigging being speedily cut away, she gradually righted, to their great relief. This incident, which it was concluded would have produced a conciliation between the disputants, only served, by a contrary effect, to render their mutual hostility more rancorous.

In a few days afterwards, while the carpenter and some seamen, who had been incessantly engaged at the pumps night and day, were searching for leaks, a plank a foot square unluckily started, and the water rushed in with such resistless impetuosity, that the affrighted people fled to the deck, crying, we are gone! we are gone! Every thing was instantly thrown overboard to make way for getting out the boat, and the most precious foreign commodities were floating around in the sea. All determined to leave the ship, and were hastening to the boat; but the pilot stood with a drawn sword to prevent their entrance, declaring, that he would cut down the first that attempted it. The danger was great and imminent, and the seamen so terrified as scarce to know what they were doing. The carpenter, however, a man of short stature, though intrepid mind, addressing the people, endeavoured to quiet their alarm, and to excite them to action: clothes and whatever else could be had were quickly collected together, and thrust into the opening, which checked the admission of the water, and kept the ship from sinking.

For fifteen days the vessel next steered through such an incredible quantity of sea-weed floating on the surface, that the people were obliged in a manner to cut a passage through it: This they con-

ceived indicated the vicinity of land; but, on sounding, no bottom could be found.

Leaving this impediment behind them, they prepared their fire-arms for use, lest they might encounter pirates; and the gunner brought a quantity of powder to be dried by the heat of the fire. But the vessel containing it growing hot, kindled the powder, and the pitch about the ship having taken fire also, some cordage and sails were soon in flames. Three seamen were severely burnt, and one of them so much scorched, that he died a few days afterwards. Lery escaped with the singeing of his hair and ears, and fortunately the flames were extinguished without doing further damage. "Thus," says he, "had providence, within a short interval, preserved us from shipwreck, foundering, and fire."

Yet the people in this vessel had still greater danger to endure, for the major part of the provisions were consumed before tempests obstructed the voyage; and an error of the pilot, who asserted the ship was in the vicinity of the Spanish coast, just when the Azores appeared in view, rendered their condition still worse. Towards the end of April, every thing being exhausted, the sweepings of the bread-room, though full of maggots, and **whatever** else was calculated to excite repugnance, were carefully collected together, and made into dough as black and bitter as soot. Still the extremity was so urgent that it proved palatable food. Many of the parrots and monkeys which had been brought from America, were already devoured by their owners, and those by whom the remainder were spared, saw that there would soon be a necessity for following the same example.

Two of the crew died of want in the beginning

of May, and their bodies, after the custom of mariners, were committed to the deep. As an aggravation of the disasters to which these unfortunate people were exposed, tempestuous winds then prevailed during twenty successive days, until their enfeebled state precluded them from navigating the ship; and all that time, notwithstanding their urgent necessity, they never were so successful as to take a single fish, the natural consequence of the storm. Meanwhile they fervently prayed for a deliverance from the distresses that assailed them.

Though the people on board were so much reduced as scarce to be able to discharge their respective duties, they were obliged to be inventive in seeking wherewithal to support life. Some therefore cut pieces out of the skin of the wild hog, and tried to eat them, after being steeped in water: but few found this an expedient plan. Several broiled pieces on the coals, which proved more agreeable: and when the skin of the wild hog was consumed they resorted to others. The different skins were preserved with the utmost anxiety, and pieces concealed in bags constantly carried about by the owners. Some likewise devoured their leathern jackets and shoes: and the ship boys appeased their ravenous hunger, by sucking the horn plate of the numerous lanterns in the ship, and eating the wax candles wherever they could be found. All the crew were gradually reduced so low as to be incapable of pumping the vessel; and they were chilled to inaction, by the blasts of a cold north wind, for fifteen days.

In the first days of May, the gunner, who had lately been seen devouring the raw entrails of a parrot, departed this life; and his body, as those of the others, was deposited in the ocean. The sur-

vivors were not much affected by his death : they had little occasion for his aid, and would even have rejoiced at being captured by a pirate, provided they could have expected any thing to eat. But throughout the whole voyage, not more than one single ship was seen, and, from inability to hoist the sails of their own, they were unable to reach her.

All the things above mentioned being consumed, and every other article that could be ate, down to the leather, and the very coverings of trunks, the last moments of the unfortunate people seemed to be approaching. But necessity, the parent of invention, inspired some of their number with the idea of hunting for mice. Numbers of these creatures, themselves pinched with hunger from privation of their accustomed crumbs now converted to the use of man, left their lurking places in quest of food. Various devices were constantly at work to catch them, and several of the people, like cats, even lay watching for them during night. Indeed this pursuit was so diligently followed, that very few mice escaped. Nay, three or four crowns were offered as the price of one ; and a single mouse was then more highly prized than an ox had been ashore. The surgeon having been so successful as to catch two, was offered a complete suit of clothes, at the first port, for one of them, which he refused ; and, in strong evidence of the prevailing necessity, after the master had cut off the feet of a large rat, which were left without the cabin door, he returned, to collect and broil them on the coals, declaring that they were as savoury as the best game. Nothing but bones were thrown away, for the skin and entrails of the animals were carefully preserved and ate. Nor did the sufferers themselves call

in question but they should have tried to feed on grass or straw, could such have been procured.

For twenty days, that a famine so terrible prevailed, there was neither a drop of wine nor water in the ship; nothing but a small cask of cyder remained, which was served out at the rate of a wine glass full daily to each person. If rain chanced to fall, it was industriously caught in sails spread out, with a bullet in the centre; and what ran through the scuppers of the vessel was carefully collected, though far more turbid than water in the kennels of a town.

On comparing the present case with a famine at the siege of Sancerre, it seemed still more deplorable, for there, in addition to skins, and leathern shields, the besieged had roots to feed upon. But here, some were reduced to the exigence of trying to gnaw Brazil wood, the hardest and driest of any, with their teeth. When Philip, the chief of the passengers was thus employed, he said, with a deep sigh, "Lery, my friend, four thousand pounds are owing to me in France, which I should gladly relinquish for a loaf of bread and a glass of wine." Peter Richer, their minister, had now almost expired of want: stretched out in his cabin, he prayed as long as he was able; and, at length his voice ceasing, life departed a short time afterwards.

The most horrible sensations accompanied the excessive hunger that was endured: not only were the bodies of the people debilitated, but their dispositions became morose, irritable, and ferocious, and they felt the full truth of what it is *to rage with hunger*. God, they called to mind, had, in his wrath, declared he would punish his people with famine,—that he, who before abhorred cruelty, should delight in it,—and that he should wish

to devour the flesh of those who were dearest to him. This was indeed the more likely to ensue; for, at the siege of Sancerre, two parents had devoured one of their own children, and the soldiers fed on the bodies of their fallen comrades. Now, though the horror of divine vengeance alone restrained the sufferers in this unfortunate vessel from proceeding to that atrocity, they began to view each other with a malignant eye, and had not the evil soon drawn to a close, the living would have begun to preserve life on human flesh.

Matters daily became worse: other two seamen died of hunger, and were thrown overboard; while the survivors, despairing of ever again coming in sight of land, conceived that a second deluge had concealed the earth, and thought their own fate inevitable.

Lery, who shared the extremities of this dreadful famine, had anxiously preserved a beautiful parrot, for a present to the Admiral Gaspar Coligny. Besides its uncommon size, and the elegance of its plumage, it had been taught to speak, which rendered it the more valuable, and though entirely without food, he secretly kept it alive five days. But the gnawings of hunger, and dread that in the night it might be clandestinely taken away, forced him to kill it. His friends and himself fed three or four days on the parrot; not the smallest particle except the feathers was thrown away: so that, in addition to the entrails and feet, the very nails and beak were devoured. Lery regretted the loss of the bird exceedingly, for two or three nuts would have kept it alive, and it could exist well enough wanting water.

"At last," says Lery, "God, who had thus supported our famished bodies, took compassion upon

us, and brought us within sight of land. We then lay almost motionless on deck, and the first annunciation of '*Land! land!*' throughout the ship, made little impression on us, we had been so often deceived by the pilot. Frequently he would have persuaded us that fogs and clouds were the shore, until their evanescence proved the reverse. But now we were quickly ascertained of the coast of Brittany being before us.

The extent of our misery, and our opportune deliverance, may be well conceived, when the master of the ship declared, that had it been protracted a single day longer he would have privately put one of us to death, and not cast lots for life, that the body might subsist the rest: Yet I surely was in less hazard; for though all were excessively reduced, I consisted of nothing but skin and bone.

The seamen had always wished to reach Rochelle, where they intended disposing of their cargo: but being still at some little distance from it, the master, Philip Dupont, and several men, got into the boat, to go in quest of provisions at the town of Hodiérne. When I was giving money to two of the passengers to procure something for me to eat, they declared they should never return, and abandoned the ship in such haste, as to leave their chests behind. One of them, long afterwards, wrote to me that the re-establishment of his health had been with the greatest difficulty accomplished.

While the ship lay at anchor with the rest of us, we hailed a fishing-boat, and earnestly besought provisions; but the men thinking it was in derision, or that we were about to do them injury, hastened away, therefore we forced ourselves into the

boat. Nothing could be found there but a few crusts of bread; and when our extreme necessity was explained, one of the fishermen had the cruelty to exact from me twelve times its value, for an inconsiderable morsel. It is needless to expatiate on our greedy appetite in devouring the provisions brought by our own people from the shore.

We learned from another vessel within hail, that this coast was sometimes infested by pirates, which induced us to seek the nearest haven, and accordingly we entered the port of Blavet in Brittany.

Many vessels lay there, bringing and rejoicing for victories; and, in particular, there was one which had captured a Spanish ship returning from Peru, with a cargo worth 60,000 pieces of gold. The news of this had been widely disseminated, and a number of Leyden and Parisian merchants arrived to buy the goods, which was a favourable occurrence; and it happened, that some of the merchants, having heard of our disasters, supported us as we left the ship, for we were unable to walk, and cautioned us to use a sparing diet at first. Those who followed their counsel recovered; but the seamen despising it, hastened to gorge themselves with food, in consequence of which, above ten, of twenty who reached the land, speedily fell a sacrifice to their own indiscretion. All the fifteen passengers who, originally embarked survived the famine; but resembled the dead raised from their graves.* Nevertheless, having once gained the land, food became loathsome, and when I tried to raise a glass of wine to my lips, overcome by the smell, I fell back in a swoon. Being conveyed to bed, I slept soundly until next day, and felt greatly refreshed.

After four days residence at Blavet, we repaired to Hennebon, and continued there fifteen days un-

der medical prescription. Yet our whole bodies swelled in a dreadful manner, and other dangerous symptoms attacked us: but I myself, and other three, swelled only from the girdle downwards; though we could never have survived, had it not been from the use of salutary medicines.

Leaving Hemichon mounted on horses, which we were too weak ourselves to guide, scarce being able to keep our seats while they were slowly led along by others, we proceeded towards our native province. Having entered the city of Nantz, our natural senses were so much affected, that we were apprehensive of becoming both deaf and blind. With care and caution, and the advice of the best physicians, we recovered of these infirmities; but I, for my part, continued to labour under debility of the stomach, which was aggravated by enduring a second famine at the siege of Sancerre: and it is now so confirmed, that I doubt not it will remain until the Almighty pleases to remove me from this mortal sphere."

LOSS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT,

WITH THE SQUIRREL AND DELIGHT, 1588*.

IN the year 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained an ample commission from Queen Elizabeth, to take possession of newly discovered lands, and establish colonies on them. Accordingly, great preparations were made for an expedition which held out a fair promise of success, and many creditable persons testified a desire to embark in it. Unfortunately, however, the different dispositions of the adventurers excited dissension among them, some failed in their engagements, others deserted their leaders; and the first attempt proved completely abortive. Sir Humphrey, after putting to sea, was compelled to return, with the loss of one ship of his fleet.

Notwithstanding the injury and discouragement resulting from such an inauspicious outset, and although Sir Humphrey's private fortune was very much impaired, he resolved to renew his enterprize on the first opportunity.

Two years were occupied in again preparing for a voyage towards the northern parts of America, and Sir George Peckham, together with many

* In *Hakluyt's* Collection of Voyages, are several accounts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's enterprize, from which this narrative is framed.

gentlemen of repute, now lent their aid towards promoting it.

On the eleventh of June 1583, therefore, the following vessels, laden with all necessities and conveniencies for establishing a colony, sailed from Cawsand Bay, at Plymouth :

The Delight, of 120 tons, commanded by Captain Winter.

The Bark Raleigh, of 200 tons, Captain Butter.

The Golden Hinde, of 40 tons, Captain Hayes.

The Swallow, of 40 tons, Captain Browne.

The Squirrel, of 10 tons, Captain Andrews.

On board of these vessels were about two hundred and sixty men, of all trades and professions, suitable for the settlement of an infant colony ; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the admiral and chief of the expedition, sailed in the Delight.

After much deliberation, it was determined to take a northerly course, in the line of the Newfoundland trade, for the purpose of supplying the necessities of the squadron. But the outset was now likely to prove as unfavourable as before ; for, on the third day of the voyage, the Raleigh, the best ship in the expedition, put about and returned, having her captain and many of her crew sick of a contagious disease.

From latitude 51°, thick fogs prevailed, and the ships parted company. Huge islands of ice were seen from the Delight ; and, seven weeks from her departure, she cast anchor in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, where she found the Swallow. Though the captain of this vessel was a man of probity, his crew by no means resembled him ; they were actually pirates, and had been taken on

the English seas, at the very moment of capturing two French ships, laden with wine and salt. The English rescued the two ships, and, taking possession of the piratical vessel, called her the *Swallow*. Yet the crew, whenever out of the admiral's reach, could not resist the desire of following their old vocation, in spite of Captain Brown, their commander. And it was now proved, that, having obtained his permission to borrow some provisions and clothing from a Newfoundland fishing bark, homeward bound, instead of obeying his injunctions, not to injure the crew, they robbed and plundered them of their sails, cables, and whatever else they chose, and then embarked in their own boat to regain the *Swallow*. The boat was upset, however, and, had not those whom they had plundered possessed more humanity than themselves, all would have been drowned.

On Monday the 5th of August, Sir Humphrey Gilbert pitched a tent ashore; and having summoned the attendance of all the merchants of Newfoundland, and the masters of vessels lying there, as well Englishmen as foreigners, he read his patent and commission, and took possession of two hundred square leagues of land in Queen Elizabeth's name.

While the more prudent persons of the expedition were occupied in repairing their wants, and in arrangements for obtaining comfort in the voyage, others of a different disposition were engaged in plotting mischief. One party intended stealing away the ships by night, when the captain should sleep ashore. Another, watching their opportunity, carried off a ship from an adjoining harbour, after landing the crew. A great many of the peo-

ple stole into the woods to conceal themselves, in hopes that they might return by different vessels which should visit the coast; so that, with the diminution from sickness and death, the persons composing the expedition were greatly reduced.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert finding it expedient to sail for England, scarce had enough of seamen to man his ship, and therefore left the *Swallow* behind. He himself embarked in the *Squirrel*, as best adapted for his voyage of discovery; and Captain Browne, of the *Swallow*, was transferred to the *Delight*, with all his men, the same who had plundered the Newfoundland bark. These ships, therefore, the *Delight*, *Golden Hinde*, and *Squirrel*, left the harbour of St Johns, in Newfoundland, on Monday the 20th of August 1583.

On Wednesday, the wind shifted towards night: the evening was fair and agreeable, though with some indications of an approaching storm; and the people of the *Delight* amused themselves with trumpets, fifes, and drums, or playing on cornets and hautboys. But a hard gale at south by east, came on next day, attended with rain, and so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see a cable's length ahead. Early in the morning, the *Golden Hinde* was entangled among banks and shoals, where the soundings varied every three or four fathoms: and the master suddenly cried out 'land.' A signal was immediately made to the *Delight*, then farthest on the shoal, to stand out to sea. However, it was either unobserved or neglected, for she instantly struck, and her stern was very soon beat to pieces.

The *Golden Hinde* and *Squirrel* stood east by south, the water irregularly shoaling and deepening from seven to five fathoms, four, and even less,

with a high sea, and at length got clear of the danger.

As the preceding day was calm, the people of the *Delight*, had hoisted out her boat to get some birds which were shot from the ship, but had neglected to take it in again: thus it was astern at the time of the wreck. Those of the crew who were able to swim, recovered the boat, and saved as many of their comrades as possible, but the captain was lost. When the fate of the ship became inevitable, he was advised to save himself by endeavouring to reach the boat; but he refused to set an example of first deserting the vessel, and continued to exhort his people by all means to exert themselves, and not give way to despair. He then went on deck, and calmly awaited death, which he resolved rather to suffer, than to expose himself to the reproach of forsaking his charge. One hundred men perished along with him, and among them a learned man, belonging to Buda, in Hungary, and thence called Budæus, who had ventured on this enterprize, merely for the purpose of recording the more interesting events of it in Latin. A Saxon refiner, who said he had discovered gold in Newfoundland, also perished. Only sixteen people in whole were saved, including the master, Richard Clarke; but though preserved from the calamitous incident they had experienced, they expected every instant to be swallowed up by the sea; for the tempest was so vehement, that no ship could venture to carry sail, and the boat, which had only one oar, was of inconsiderable size.

In this condition, and destitute of provision, the sixteen men were drifted during two days and a

half, when one of them, called Headley, proposed to the master that they should cast lots, and those who drew the four shortest of sixteen, should be thrown overboard: for it was now seen that the boat could not live in such a sea, whereas, by lightening her, she might perhaps make the land. The master replied, "No; we shall all live or die together." Headley then asked him if his memory was correct: to which he answered, "I praise God it is so, I know how far we are from land, and hope to reach it in two or three days;" and to encourage the people, he said it was only sixty leagues distant, though actually more.

Thus the shipwrecked people continued the third and fourth day, destitute of all sustenance, except the sea-weed which they found floating around them, and salt water to drink. Headley and another man died on the fifth day, and then none of the survivors wished to live. The weather was so bad, that, during five days and nights, they had seen the sun only once, and the stars but a single night.

All the survivors were very weak on the sixth day after the wreck, and praying for death, except Richard Clarke, the master, who comforted them, and engaged that they should soon come to land; but the rest were despairing and expressing their doubts that they should never see it again: whereon Clarke replied, that if they did not make land on the seventh day, they might throw him overboard.

Fortunately his words came true; for, at eleven in the forenoon of that day, they did obtain sight of land, and in the afternoon got ashore. They remarked, that for the whole seven days and nights they had been at sea, the wind was constantly in the

south, and had it shifted, they never could have gained the land; yet within an hour after their arrival, it went round to the north.

The people were so weak, that it was with great difficulty they could help each other out of the boat: they then kneeled down to return thanks to God for their deliverance: which being done, the strongest assisted the most feeble to a brook, where they refreshed themselves with fresh water, and ate wild berries.

Next morning the master divided the company into different parties, sending them by three and three in quest of food, and appointing the whole to meet at noon with whatever they should collect. They were not unsuccessful, for they found a great quantity of pease, on which, and the berries, they subsisted three days, and at night reposed in a hut, which they had first constructed of the branches of trees.

The people, after having repaired their fatigues, rowed along shore, intending to make for the Great Bay, yearly frequented by the Spaniards, engaged in the whale-fishery: and, in the course of this coasting voyage, landed, when hungry, to eat pease and berries. But before proceeding so far, they fell in with a Spanish ship, in which they were carried to a port in the Bay of Biscay. They were greatly befriended by her captain, who concealed who they truly were from the inspectors that came on board, saying, they were poor fishermen cast away in Newfoundland. At night he put them ashore to shift for themselves, and, being only eight or ten miles from the French frontier, they crossed it before day, and then made their escape to England, towards the end of the year 1583.

The people of the *Golden Hinde* and *Squirrel* having thus lost the best ship among them, continued beating up and down in expectation of better weather, concluding themselves not far from land. They became dispirited, however, thick fogs prevailed, and the increasing scarcity of provisions added to their impatience. The crew of the *Squirrel*, already reduced to short allowance, besought Sir Humphrey Gilbert to return to England, and those of the *Golden Hinde* followed their example. Therefore, Sir Humphrey, on their engaging to renew the expedition during the subsequent spring, was induced to accede to their wishes: but the master of the *Golden Hinde* was of a different opinion, and influenced by his determination only. The ships, therefore, altered their course on Saturday the thirty-first of August, steering homewards with a fresh breeze and a high sea.

On the second of September, Sir Humphrey went on board the *Golden Hinde* to get his foot, which had been hurt, dressed by the surgeon; and, after returning to his own ship, repeated his visit, to make merry with the captain, master, and company. He then expressed much regret at losing the *Delight*, and especially all his papers, and some gold ore which the Saxon refiner had got in Newfoundland. As the *Squirrel* was overloaded with heavy artillery, and other things far above her burden, sailing in her was considered dangerous at that season of the year; and Sir Humphrey was advised to transfer himself to the *Golden Hinde*. But this he declined, saying, "I will not now desert my little company, after having encountered so many perils and storms along with them." Therefore, he was supplied with what provisions

were necessary, and returned to the Squirrel, in the Golden Hinde's pinnace, the vessels at that time being about three hundred leagues on their way to Britain.

Foul weather, producing short broken seas, came on in the latitude of England, and lights were nightly seen on the main-yard. The Squirrel nearly foundered from the high sea, in the afternoon of the ninth of September; and at twelve at night she went down, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert and every man on board perished.

Thus ended an enterprize, equally inauspicious in the outset and in the issue: only one of the three ships in company reaching England in safety, on the homeward voyage from Newfoundland.

SHIPWRECK OF THE PORTUGUESE ADMIRAL,

FERNANDO DE MENDOZA, 1585 *.

JOHN Huyghens of Linschoten, was a celebrated Dutch navigator towards the end of the sixteenth century. Independent of his nautical discoveries, intended as a guide to future mariners, he has left an interesting account of several kingdoms of the east, interspersed with occasional narratives of the principal incidents during his residence there. Two of the European powers, the Dutch and the Portuguese, early acquired rich and extensive foreign possessions. Fleets, laden with the most valuable commodities, periodically sailed to the mother-country ; and the advantages arising from a lucrative traffic, led to the foundation of new and important colonies, equally productive as those originally established. But this perpetual intercourse was not exempt from the calamities resulting from the uncertainties of the sea, of which the fol-

* An English translation of John Huyghen van Linschoten's voyages, printed 1598, and also a French translation, printed at Amsterdam 1610, have been resorted to in framing this narrative, as the original is not now to be procured.

lowing, recorded by the same intelligent navigator, already named, may serve as an example.

Letters to the viceroy and archbishop of Goa arrived in May 1586, communicating the loss of the admiral's ship, *St Jago*, on the *Bassas de India*, an extensive shoal in the Indian ocean.

The ship sailed from Portugal in 1585, and made a prosperous voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the vicinity of Mosambique; when the crew thinking they had nothing to dread, grew regardless of danger. Yet the master and others having rule, ought always to keep the strictest watch, and distrust their own judgment; otherwise, as in this case, fatal accidents may ensue. The *St Jago* approached near the latitude of $22^{\circ} 3'$, under which lie the *Bassas de India*, between the island of Madagascar and the continent of Soffala, shoals consisting chiefly of black, white, and green coral, which are extremely dangerous; and pilots would do well to shun them. The ship having got between Madagascar and Mosambique, the pilot took an observation by which he judged her past the shoals, and ordered the master to make all sail for Mosambique. But there were various seamen on board, who, as well as the officers, thinking it was prudent to stand off and on during the night, gave their counsel, that a good look-out should be kept; because they suspected that they were not yet past the shoals. However, the pilot, resolving both to maintain his own skill, and to shew his power, advanced the reverse, and refused to listen to any of their suggestions. It is necessary to observe, that, by the king's express command, the pilots of Portuguese East Indiamen are invested with an absolute controul of

the navigation, and the ship is committed to their charge alone. But the later regulations of other countries dispense with having an officer of that particular description constantly on board.

The pilot, thus obstinately adhering to his own opinion, ordered all sail to be set: and the ship continued her course until midnight, with fair weather, but no moon, when she struck on a sharp coral rock. The main-mast immediately came over, and, with the beating of the sea, the vessel soon parted. A dreadful cry was heard throughout the wreck, and great lamentation among the people. There were at least five hundred persons on board, among whom were thirty women and many Jesuits and priests: nothing was to be seen, but every one bidding another farewell, and asking forgiveness of offences.

The admiral, Fernando de Mendoza, with the master, pilot, and ten or twelve more, got into the pinnace, and, drawing their swords, declared, that no more should enter, for they were about to seek some part of the shoal, fit for building a boat out of the wreck. But, after searching in vain, they became apprehensive of returning to the ship, lest the pinnace might be overladen, and themselves drowned. Therefore, having twelve boxes of marmalade, a pipe of wine, and some biscuit, which had been hastily thrown into the boat, they recommended themselves to God, and rowed for the land, which they made in seventeen days, after suffering severe hunger, thirst, and fatigue.

Those who remained in the wreck, not seeing the pinnace return, were filled with despair, until the vessel parting between the decks, exposed the long boat which was falling out. No one wished to give directions to the rest, nor was any expedient

adopted to save their lives, but all sat inactive looking at each other. At last an Italian, Cypriano Grimaldi, inspirited them to exertion, and, leaping into the boat, began to clear it out. Others followed his example; and by the time the boat was got to sea, there were at least ninety persons on board, besides many trying to overtake it by swimming. Several women were among them: but because those within were unwilling to endanger the boat, they mercilessly cut off the fingers, hands and arms of those holding by the sides; and threw many overboard who were incapable of defending themselves. A painful scene ensued on taking leave of the unfortunate persons abandoned in the ship, and the adventurers put straight out to sea. The boat was not only overloaded by the numbers within, but leaked very much, and the adventurers had but a small store of provisions. Whence, after towing several days, they resolved to choose a captain from their number, to whom they should give implicit obedience. A gentleman born in India, though of Portuguese extraction, was selected, whose first act of authority was commanding his crew to throw some of the rest overboard, being such as were weakest, or least likely to be useful. Among these was the carpenter who had so lately assisted in repairing the boat. When he knew that the lot had fallen to him, he besought his comrades to give him some marmalade, and a cup of wine; which having received, he willingly suffered himself to be thrown over, and was drowned. Another of the victims had a younger brother in the boat, who suddenly started up, and prayed the captain to change the lot, and let him die in his brother's place. "My brother," said he, "is older and has more knowledge of the

world than I, therefore, more fit to live, and better able to assist my sisters and friends in their need : and I had rather die for him, than survive without him." The elder brother being thus released, the younger one was thrown into the sea. He swam full six hours following the boat ; and although he was repulsed with naked swords, he laid hold of it, and had his hand cut half asunder. However, he would not let go, and those within were at last obliged to take him in again. Both these brothers were personally known to the author of this narrative.

The people continued twenty days at sea in the greatest distress : and then got to land, where they found the admiral and the crew of the other ^{ship}.

Those who were abandoned in the ship, attempted to make rafts of deals and spars, and whatever else they could fasten together, in hopes of saving their lives : but of all who embarked on them, only two came safe ashore.

The adventurers who had made the land, escaped one danger but to meet another : for no sooner had they reached the coast, than they were attacked by the Caffres, robbed of all they possessed, and scarcely preserved clothes to cover their nakedness ; and they suffered many hardships besides. In time they succeeded in reaching the Portuguese agent for Soffala and Mosambique, who gave them all the assistance he could, and attained sending them to Mosambique, from whence they passed to India. Some, however, died in the interval ; so that the whole saved from this shipwreck did not exceed sixty persons : for nothing more than what is already related was heard of the ship. Thus did the obstinacy and arrogance of the pilot cost so many lives, which shows the impropriety of giving one the absolute

controul, and the privilege of rejecting better counsel.

This same pilot was committed to prison on his arrival in Portugal, from which he escaped by means of bribery. But another ship, the *St Thomas*, the best of the whole Indian fleet, that sailed in 1586, was committed to his charge, though not without the imprecations of those whom his misconduct had rendered widows and orphans. The vessel was nearly wrecked, close to the place where the former was cast away. But the approach of day enabled the mariners to discover their danger, whereby they escaped. Afterwards, in the voyage home, the pilot followed a new course, standing far out to sea, to clear the banks and shoals on the African coast ; for, as he affirmed, it was the want of such precaution that occasioned the loss of many ships. Yet the truth is, that the disasters arose from overloading the vessels, manning them with unskilful seamen, and neglecting a due survey whether they were fit for the voyage. An example occurred in the ship *St Thomas*, of which we now speak.

On the 30th of January, John Huyghens van Linschoten passed the line, and next day descried a vessel supposed to be the *St Thomas*. On the third of February he came up with her ; but her people judging their vessel a better sailer than his, and knowing that he had been later of leaving Cochin, made all speed to double the Cape before him. The wind became foul, however, which forced Huyghens to tack, and run before it : but the pilot of the *St Thomas*, trusting to the goodness of his ship, resolved to brave the storm. The consequence was, that, owing to the heavy sea, added to her being overladen, she broke up,

foundered, and all on board were drowned. Huyghens had too good evidence of the fact; for, on nearing the Cape, he saw many pieces of the wreck, with quantities of the cargo, and dead bodies, floating in the sea.

The St Thomas was one of the richest vessels that had ever left the Indian shores; and was quite new, this being but her second voyage. Many officers and soldiers, and ten or twelve ladies, who had embarked from no other reason than confidence in the goodness of the ship, perished in her: and some of those, in other ships of the fleet, being occasionally in danger, would say, they should have been in perfect security on board the St Thomas; as if it had been impossible that she could be cast away.

Besides the preceding shipwrecks, intelligence arrived at Goa, in August 1586, that a vessel called the Boa Viagen, was lost off the Cape of Good Hope, from overlading and a leak which had sprung before she left Cochin in Malabar. It is usual, before the ships sail, to put the master and other officers on oath, whether they be fit for the voyage. But covetousness quells all apprehension; and rather than lose the profits of the voyage, they will conceal the faults of the ship, and swear to her fitness, though they know the reverse. In the Boa Viagen, were many Portuguese of rank, returning to their own country, and also an ambassador from Xatamas, king of Persia, to the king of Spain, with whom he was to form a league of amity, against their common enemies the Turks. Owing to his being lost, the Persians refused to send another ambassador, though they preserved a treaty with the Portuguese. He, too, had embarked, because the Boa,

Viagen was one of the best and largest ships of the fleet.

The *Bassas de India*, or more correctly *Bassas de Inda*, was considered a very dangerous shoal, and long remained the dread of navigators. But more recent observations have ascertained, that, instead of a shoal, it is a low island, about five or six miles in length, and three or four in breadth, lying in $22^{\circ} 23''$ south latitude, and $40^{\circ} 51''$ east longitude. Many trees grow upon it, and the western beach is white and sandy. Rocks and breakers, to which most probably Huyghens van Linschoten alludes, are said to encompass the island, and thence so much apprehension has been excited for approaching it. In 1774 and 1804, the chief bearings were taken, whereby its position may be supposed to be nearly ascertained.

WRECK OF THE TOBIE OF LONDON,

NEAR CAPE ESPARTEL, 1593.

THE Tobie of London, of 250 tons, and 50 men, belonging to Richard Staper, sailed from Blackwall, on the 16th of August 1593, laden with merchandise to the value of eleven or twelve thousand pounds sterling. She was bound for Leghorn, Zante, and Patras, in the Morea: and a brief narrative of her navigation is given in the following terms.

We repaired to Portsmouth, where we took in a great quantity of wheat, and set sail from Stoke's Bay, in the Isle of Wight, on the 6th of October, with a fair wind. On the 16th we were in the latitude of Cape St Vincent, and next morning descried a vessel right a-head lying off and on, to which, having a strong breeze, we gave chase. We found she was a Spaniard; but she proved so good a sailer, that we were glad to abandon the pursuit. Two days afterwards, we came in sight of Mount Chiego, which is the first high land seen on the coast of Spain, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar, and here stood out to sea, having foul weather and little wind for other two days successively.

The master, John Goodley, was a young man who had never before been entrusted with navigating a ship in these seas: vain of a charge, for which he was little qualified, he refused all counsel of the rest on board, and acted so as to please himself only. At the end of the two days of bad weather, the wind becoming fair he bore directly into the Straits. On the 19th, thinking himself farther off the land than was truly the case, he carried sail all night: and an hour and a half before day, ran the ship ashore on the coast of Barbary, four leagues south of Cape Espartel, without the Straits. All on board being filled with astonishment, the master said to us, "I pray you forgive me, for this is my fault, and that of none besides." The crew then demanded whether they should cut away the mast, to which he replied, "No, we will hoist out the boat." But one of the men coming hastily up, cried out, that the ship was full of water; whereon the captain ordered the mast to be cut over, which was speedily done.

The after-part of the ship suddenly parted asunder, so that it was impossible to stand upon it; whence all the men fled up the foremast into the shrouds, and clung there some time. Seeing nothing but the prospect of immediate death, for being so unexpectedly surprised, there was no time to make a ratt, we began with heavy hearts to sing the twelfth psalm: however, before four verses were finished, the waves had stopped the breath of most of the men. The foremast fell over with the weight of the people and the beating of the sea, whereby thirty-eight were drowned. Twelve, with the assistance of heaven, got ashore, about a quarter of a mile from the wreck, partly by swimming, and partly by supporting themselves

on chests. The master, George Goodley, and William Palmer, his mate, were both drowned, as also Mr Cæsar, the captain and an owner : nor were any of the officers saved excepting the carpenter.

The twelve people who escaped, on reaching the land, knelt to return God thanks for his mercy. After their prayers were finished, finding themselves in a desert place, they consulted together on what course to take, and, resolving to travel, advanced the whole day without seeing a human being ; but passing by places where houses had stood, which they afterwards found had been burnt by the Portuguese, and observing the traces of wild beasts by the way. At night, having arrived in olive groves, they climbed up the trees to avoid the danger of lions and other ferocious animals, many of which were seen next morning.

Next day they travelled until three in the afternoon without any food, except water and wild date roots ; then crossing a mountain, came in view of Cape Espartel, whereby they had some better idea which way to take. They advanced, until reaching a hedgerow of very long canes, and, looking over it, saw towards five thousand men, both on foot and horseback, skirmishing with small shot and other weapons. Having consulted what was the most prudent plan to follow on this occasion, they concluded, that it was best to render themselves up, being destitute of all means of resistance.

“ Rising, therefore,” the author of the narrative continues, “ we marched towards them, and, being immediately observed, some hundreds, with javelins in their hands, came hastily to us, as if they meant to run us through. However, they

only struck us with the flat side of their weapons, affirming that we were Spaniards: nor would they believe our assurances that we were Englishmen."

At length the conflict being ended, and night approaching, the captain of the Moors, a man about fifty-six years of age, came to us, and, by means of his interpreter, who could speak Italian, asked "what we were, and from whence we came?"

One of our number, Thomas Henmore, who understood the same language, answered, that we were merchants who had unfortunately lost our ship, and the greatest part of our company, on the coast. But the Moor, void of all humanity and generosity, nevertheless, caused his men strip off our clothes, even to our shirts, to see what money and jewels we had about us. Finding to the value of nearly two hundred pounds in gold and pearls, they returned some of our clothes, and gave us for food only bread and water.

Next morning they carried us down to the shore, where our ship was cast away, about sixteen miles distant: but, in the course of the journey, dressed us like slaves: and, although we were extremely weak, they obliged us to carry their baggage, offering to beat us, if we could not keep up with them. We asked why they used us in this manner: to which they answered, "that we were their captives:" whereon we rejoined, "that we were their friends, and that no Englishmen could be captive to the king of Morocco."

Having arrived at the ship, we remained there with the Moors seven days, until they had procured all the goods they were able. This finished, a division of what was recovered was made a-

mong them, and, the seven days expired, the captain of the Moors appointed twenty of his men, well armed, to conduct us up the country.

The first night we came to a river called Alarach, and lay there on the grass; and next day crossing the river, which was a quarter of a mile broad, in an eighteen oared galley, marched to Tettoon, a town of thirty houses. There we remained four days, still living on bread and water; and afterwards went to a town called Cassuri, where we were delivered by our twenty guards to the alcaide. The magistrate examined us, as to who we were, and, on our informing him, he gave us a favourable answer, and sent us to the Jew's house, where we lay some days.

. In the meantime, twelve Frenchmen, who were cast away within the straits, about Cape Gates, in a storm, were made prisoners, and brought hither, as also twenty Spaniards who had been taken in a rencounter on land.

At the close of the seven days, the whole of us, consisting of twelve Englishmen, twelve French, and twenty Spaniards, were conducted by nine hundred horse and foot, towards Morocco. Travelling two days, we came to the river Fez, and, being provided with tents, there passed the night. On the following day, we arrived at a town called Sallee, and lay all night in our tents, without the town. Thence we advanced nearly an hundred miles, without seeing any town, but arriving every night at fresh water; partly running, and partly the residue of rain.

At last, having come within three miles of the city of Morocco, we pitched our tents, and there met a carrier, who travelled in that country on account of the English merchants. By him we

sent them information of our condition : and the subsequent day they returned provisions to us by a Moor : and also pen, ink, and paper, desiring us to let them know in what ship we were wrecked ; how many were saved, and who they were. " For," added they, " we wish immediate intelligence, as to-morrow the king holds his court, and we are not willing that you should enter the city like captives."

For all this, however, we were carried in like captives, with ropes about our necks, as well English, as the French and Spaniards. Thus the Moors conducted us before the king ; who committed the whole to confinement. We lay in close prison fifteen days, and at length obtained our liberty by means of the English merchants, to their great charges : for it cost them seven hundred ounces of silver, every ounce worth two shillings.

After leaving the prison, we went to the Al-fandia, and continued eight weeks with the English merchants. Being there well apparelled by their liberality, we travelled, during eight days, down to Santa Cruz, and, finding shipping in the roads, embarked about the 20th of March. Two went on board the Anne Francis, of London : five more in the Expedition, of London, five days subsequent : two in a Flemish fly-boat, and one in the Mary Edward, of London. Other two of our number died of the bloody flux, in the country ; one of them, called George Hancock, during our first imprisonment at Morocco ; and the other, called Robert Sandon, at Santa Cruz, whose death was hastened by eating roots, and other unnatural things to appease his hunger, during the march : and also by the severities of cold, and lodging in the open fields, without tents.

Thus, of fifty persons, only ten survived, from

the rashness of an unskilful master; and, after a thousand miseries, returned home, poor, sick, and feeble, to their native country. Their names were Richard Johnson, William Williams, carpenter; John Durham, Abraham Rouse, John Matthews, Thomas Henmore, John Silvester, Thomas Whiting, William Church, John Fox."

As future opportunities will occur, of illustrating the condition of captives to the Moors, few observations are necessary here. The place of the shipwreck of the *Tobie* is sufficiently characterised as being four leagues south of Cape Spartel, on the north-west extremity of Africa, that is, very near a small town called Arzilla. The survivors seem then to have marched northward, within sight of the Cape, and to have reached Tetuan, before proceeding to the south. This town stands about four miles inland from the sea, and was formerly the residence of foreign consuls: but an Englishman having shot or wounded a Moor, in the year 1770, the emperor of Morocco ordered all the Europeans to quit the place, declaring, that none should ever be permitted to settle there again: and to this he steadily adhered. It does not appear, that any other town can be meant by Tetteon, in the narrative; and Cassari is probably El Kasser. El Araiche, commonly called Larache, is a town situated on the river Kos, in the midst of a rich and productive country, from which the Europeans were also expelled in 1780. These errors in the narrative are to be disregarded, nor are they surprising, considering the transient view which the author must have had of the different places through which he passed, while he was ignorant of the language of the people.

SHIPWRECK OF HENRY MAY

ON THE BERMUDA ISLANDS, 1593*.

As the incidents preceding this shipwreck are extremely diffuse and unconnected, the following abstract of them, nearly in the author's own words, may be given :

“ Three ships, the *Penelope*, *Merchant-Royal*, and *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain James Lancaster, together with a small pinnace, departed from Plymouth, on the 10th of April 1591. In May we reached the Grand Canary, one of the Fortunate Islands, and, towards the end of the same month, took a Portuguese vessel, bound for Brazil, which afforded us many refreshments.

After reaching Saldanha Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, from which the *Merchant-Royal* was sent home with the sick, we lay a month at anchor, and trafficked with the natives, who were clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides. They sold us an

* The original account of this shipwreck, written by Henry May, one of the survivors, is contained in the third volume of Hakluyt's collection of voyages. It is not clearly explained what was the object of the enterprise, and the whole narrative is abrupt and perplexed.

ox for a knife, worth three-pence, and a sheep for a broken knife, or any similar trifle.

The Penelope, and Edward Bonaventure, weighing anchor on the 8th of September, doubled the Cape, and soon encountered a dreadful tempest, in the course of which, the sea struck out the light of the former, and she was never seen more.

While quite ignorant of her situation, the Edward Bonaventure fell in with the westernmost part of Madagascar, and next day anchored at Quintangone, two or three miles north of Mozambique, on the main-land of Africa, from whence the Portuguese of that island carry their fresh water. Here we took a vessel called a *pangaia*, like a large barge, formed of the bark of trees, sewed together, fastened with wooden pins, and carrying one sail, made of cocoa-nut leaves. All the people captured in it were dismissed, excepting a Portuguese boy.

At Comorro the ship remained the whole of November, where the natives, who are black and comely, but a cruel and treacherous race, killed thirty of her men the day preceding her departure. Among these were William Mace, the master, and two of his mates, one being in the boat along with him, for the purpose of procuring fresh water, and the other on shore opposite the ship.

After wintering at Zanzibar, having resumed our voyage for India, we were retarded at sea, by adverse winds and calms, from February until June, which occasioned the death of many of the men; and at Pulo Penang, in the month of September subsequent, sickness carried off a great number more.

Our course for Malacca commenced on the first

of this month, and, before long, we took a Portuguese ship, of about 80 tons burden, with 50 men, and provided with wooden anchors. Both she and a pinnace of 18 tons at her stern, were laden with pepper, but the latter was stole from us in the morning, during a squall.—We might have taken other two vessels of the same nation.

In September we also captured a large Portuguese ship of six or seven hundred tons, laden chiefly with provisions, chests of hats, pintadoes, and Calicut cloths, and likewise another ship of several hundred tons, with similar commodities. From the scarcity of provisions at Malacca, these vessels were bound thither, as that settlement is supplied from Goa, St Thomas, and other places.

Reaching Nicobar, the inhabitants, who are Mahometans, brought poultry, plantains, cocoanuts, and various kinds of fruit on board in their canoes. Two days afterwards they also brought rials of plate, which they had recovered, by diving, from two Portuguese vessels recently cast away, and exchanged them for Calicut cloth.

Our crew being now much enfeebled and diminished, we resolved to commence our return by the island of Ceylon. A great quantity of excellent cinnamon grows on that island, and there also are found the finest diamonds in the world. We arrived at Ceylon towards the end of November, and from certain intelligence which had been received, our captain meant to remain and complete the purposes of the voyage, of which sanguine prospects were entertained. But the crew, at this time reduced to only thirty-three men and boys, becoming mutinous, and the captain being dangerously ill, they refused to stay, and would go

home at all hazards. Thus we were compelled to return.

The ship was brought to anchor at St Helena, where we found an Englishman, a tailor, who had remained fourteen months on the island. Ten men who had been sent ashore in the boat, hearing some person singing within a chapel, concluded that it was a Portuguese; and, pushing open the door, found the tailor sheltering himself from the heat of the sun. But the sudden entrance of so many people at once, greatly alarmed the poor man, who had not seen a living soul for fourteen months preceding. At first he took them for Portuguese, but afterwards, discovering that they were Englishmen, and several of the number his own acquaintances, he was so overjoyed, that, what between excessive fear and sudden joy, he, to our great sorrow, became distracted, and died on our arrival in the West Indies. In St Helena we found forty goats which had been dried by him: and, for want of other apparel, he had made himself two suits of goat skins, with the hairy side outwards, like the savages of Canada.

We then sailed for Trinidad in the West Indies in quest of provisions, of which we were disappointed, from the Spaniards having taken the island. But the ship being embayed between the island and the main, the crew wished to abandon her for want of provisions, on which account the captain made every man swear that he should remain until reduced to greater necessity. It pleased God to deliver us from this bay, called Bocca de Dragone: and at Mona, where we lay taking in provisions, a French ship arrived, commanded by M. de la Barbotiere, who supplied us with what we chiefly required.

Off Cape Tiburon a squall from the shore carried away every sail in the ship: But Captain De la Barbotiere, on my going on board his vessel to inform him of our distress, assured me that nothing should be wanting if he could spare it, and gave us a new fore-course. Further, he said, if we would accompany him to a certain harbour, north of Cape Tiburon, he should there supply us with provisions enough. Returning to the Edward, I told the captain what had passed; and no sooner had he communicated it to the crew, than all were eager to go to the harbour.

However, our success in this respect was not equal to our expectations, during fifteen days that we remained with Captain de la Barbotiere: and the men beginning again to mutiny, reported that I and the captain went on board the French vessel to make good cheer, while they were neglected. But I protest, before God, that our only errand was for provisions, whereby we should be enabled to leave him.

Meantime many of the crew had engaged in a conspiracy to seize the French captain's pinnace, and board the ship in her; but one of them went to Captain de la Barbotiere and disclosed the plot. Captain Lancaster and I, on invitation, then waited on him to dinner, and, at his request, staid the whole afternoon to supper also. After we had sat down, however, it was a long time before he joined us, and when he did come, we asked him what news? To which he answered, "that we must either leave him, or he must seek some other harbour." Captain Lancaster hearing this, said, that, rather than we should be any impediment to him, we should depart.

Meanwhile, the Frenchman weighed and set

sail, telling Captain Lancaster and myself that he kept us as hostages for his safety, and then disclosed the designs of our crew. As he came athwart our ship, it blew a smart gale, and his boat astern, with two Moors and two Peguese, whom we had given him, broke loose, which irritated him so much, that he threatened, in high terms, that we should indemnify his voyage.

The people of the *Edward*, observing us pass in this manner, weighed anchor and set sail for England, sharing all the captain's provisions and mine among them, when they knew we were detained prisoners. However, she did not sail far before matters were explained, and Captain Lancaster allowed to return to his own ship. He previously requested the French captain to give me a passage home, for the purpose of relating the whole incidents of the voyage, particularly the mutinous disposition of the crew.

On the last day of November 1593, I sailed with Captain de la Barbotiere from the port of Laguna, in Hispaniola, and at midnight, on the 17th of December, we were unfortunately cast away on the island of Bermuda.

The pilots, believing the vessel twelve leagues south of the island, informed the captain that they were beyond all danger, and demanded wine from him, which they received. But when their desire was thus satisfied, they apparently became regardless of their duty, and, getting intoxicated, were the occasion of many valuable lives being lost. But it pleased Heaven that I, a stranger among more than fifty Frenchmen, should be saved.

The sight of high cliffs induced us to conjecture that we were wrecked close by the shore.

though we proved to be seven leagues distant. But, by means of the ship's boat, and a raft towed at her stern, twenty-six of us were preserved.

Here I was reduced to great perplexity ; for, being among such a number of strangers and observing that there was not room for one half of the whole, I durst neither press forward to the raft, nor thrust myself into the boat, lest the French might throw me overboard or kill me. Therefore I remained by the wreck, which was almost full of water, until the captain, having entered the boat, called me to him, saying, that the only alternative now was life or death. At that time I was close by him, and embarked in the boat, leaving the majority of the ship's company to the mercy of the sea.

During the whole day we continued at the oars, and came to land an hour or two before night. Having had nothing to eat, every man went in quest of provisions, but a long time elapsed before any could be found. One of the pilots, to our great comfort, discovered fresh water in digging among a quantity of weeds, and, though only the residue of rain, it proved very acceptable : nor was any of better quality obtained in future. Yet, among the many fine bays of the island, I should think plenty might be procured by digging for it.

Intersections by the sea divide the land into lesser islands, the largest of which seen by me was four or five miles long and half as broad. On the south part were hogs, so lean, from the barrenness of the ground, as not to be eatable ; but, to compensate, there was abundance of fish, fowl, and tortoises. Many good harbours, where a ship of 200 tons may ride landlocked, lie to the

eastward, and there are as productive pearl-fishings as in any part of the West Indies. But the island is stormy, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

The carpenter fortunately saved his tools from the wreck, which enabled us to build a small bark of eighteen tons. In constructing her we used very few nails, for she was chiefly put together with wooden pins: instead of pitch, lime was mixed up with the oil of tortoises; and whenever the carpenter had completed the caulking, I and another person plastered over the seams. This being the month of April, and the weather fair and warm, it dried the moment it was applied, and immediately became as hard as stone. Before the wreck broke up we made an excursion to it, and, cutting away the shrouds, made such rigging and tacking as were necessary for the bark.

Lest water might fail, from the extreme heat of the weather, we hastened to depart, carrying a sufficient quantity along with us, in two large chests well caulked, stowed on each side of the mainmast: and we took thirteen live tortoises on board for fresh provisions.

At length, on the 11th of May 1594, after nearly five months residence, we joyfully left the island, intending to make Newfoundland. On the 20th we fell in with Cape Breton, where the natives, clothed in furs, offered others to us for sale; and we bought a number of wild ducks for heads. Remaining only four hours in a fresh water river there, we sailed for the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and in the course of the voyage met many vessels, which refused to receive us. Afterwards we luckily fell in with a Falmouth bark, where the whole of us were accommodated

for a short time : and in her we took a French vessel, wherein I left my dear friend, Captain de la Barbotiere. I remained on board the English bark, and, having procured a passage home, arrived in safety at Falmouth, in the month of August 1594.

WINTERING OF THE CREW

OF A DUTCH VESSEL IN NOVA ZEMBLA, 1596 *.

TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century, the spirit for commercial adventure made rapid progress in Holland; and various companies were formed to promote the interests of traffic. With the individuals composing them some members of the Dutch government were associated, who, by their power and influence, could accomplish what was denied to the exertions of simple merchants. But the desire of new discoveries being conjoined with mercantile enterprize, led to the foundation of colonies in remote regions of the world, which vied for centuries with the flourishing establishments originating from the island of Britain. Sensible of the

* The original of this narrative, which extends to a considerable length, has been translated into several different languages. Not long after its first publication by Gerard de Veer, it was engrossed by Purchas in his collection of voyages and travels, 1625: and there was another English translation of it, published in 1703, which seems tolerably correct. The copy most frequently referred to is that in M. de Constantin's collection of the Dutch East India Company's Voyages, published at Rouen 1725; where it is entitled *Troisième Voyage des Hollandois et des Zelandois, par le Nord*, Tom. I. p. 86. It has thence been adopted by Prevost and others: though doubts may be entertained, whether M. de Constantin was acquainted with De Veer's original edition.

great advantages that would result from shortening the voyage from Europe to the distant climates of the east, the Dutch were at an early period occupied in searching for a passage by the north, which, according to the geographical opinions prevailing in that age, would conduct their fleets to China, Japan, and other places, in half the usual time. Though their attempts, in this respect, ultimately proved abortive, they were not void of utility, and led to some interesting incidents, which are partly contained in the following narrative.

Three ships sailed from the Texel, in 1594, accompanied by a fishing bark, for the purpose of discovering the northern passage, and reached as far as $77^{\circ} 45'$ of north latitude, when a vast surface of ice extending to the utmost limits of the horizon obstructed their progress. Their commanders, after betaking to the boats, and examining those creeks and shores, which they were able to gain, considered it impracticable to proceed, and returned to Holland in about fourteen weeks from their departure.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, another voyage was resolved upon, and its success so confidently anticipated, that no less than seven vessels, six of which were laden with commodities for eastern traffic, sailed on the same pursuit, in the course of the following year. These vessels found Russians, collecting whale-oil and the teeth of the sea-cow in latitude 72° or 73° north, with whom they interchanged mutual civilities, and saw a race of people, whom they called Samoides, at the entrance of the Waygat's Straits. Soon afterwards the ice opposed their advancing towards the north-east, into what they supposed the open ocean: thick fogs prevailed, and a continual change of

wind. They passed through the Waygat's Straits, however, and landed at Staten Island : thence surveying the surrounding sea, and observing great quantities of ice drifting from the east, they returned through the Straits, and abandoned the passage as impracticable.

Though these successive failures repressed the ardour of the Dutch, they did not lose sight of an object which they had viewed with such predilection : and two vessels were once more fitted out at the charge of the city of Amsterdam for resuming the voyage of discovery by the north. One of them was commanded by Jacob Hemskirk, an experienced mariner, with whom was conjoined William Barentz, as pilot, a navigator enjoying equal reputation, and who had, besides, been out in both the preceding voyages. In the same vessel, also, was Gerard de Veer, the author of the only history of all the calamities and adventures which ensued in prosecution of the enterprize. John Cornelisz Ryp, was master or supercargo of the other.

On the 22d of May 1596, the two ships left Holland, and soon afterwards a strange phenomenon was observed in the heavens, consisting of three suns, all visible at a time, each within a parheliön, and a rainbow traversing the whole : besides which other two rainbows likewise appeared.

Detached flakes of ice were seen floating on the 5th of June, which the people on board, at first sight, took for a flock of swans swimming in the sea, until a nearer approach proved their error. Sailing through water of a deep green colour, they discovered an island about five miles long, in $74^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, on which they landed.

The party with Barentz having descried a white bear in the sea, pursued it in the boat, in hopes

of being able to cast a noose round its neck. But, on closing with the animal, its size and menacing aspect deterred them, until obtaining a reinforcement of men and arms. Yet during four glasses, that a renewed encounter lasted with the bear, all their exertions to destroy it proved unavailing; and it actually swam away with an axe struck into its back. The boat followed, and one of the men at length cleft its head asunder by the blow of a hatchet. The skin of this enormous animal was twelve feet long; but the people did not relish the flesh. The incident induced them to name the land *Bears Island*.

Prosecuting their voyage, they got so far north as $80^{\circ} 11'$ where, after a combat, almost equally severe, another bear, whose skin was thirteen feet long, was killed: and they found vast numbers of wild geese hatching their eggs on land in that high latitude. Ranging along the coast, they found a good haven, but could get no farther north on account of fields of ice. The navigation was therefore pursued in somewhat lower latitudes, wherever the ice gave access, until the first of July, when Barentz, and John Cornelius Ryp, disagreeing about the course to be followed, parted while in sight of *Bear's Island*.

On the 17th of July, Barentz saw the coast of Nova Zembla, near Loms Bay, and three days afterwards, being obstructed by the ice, anchored at Cross Isle. Here eight men, having gone ashore unarmed, had a narrow escape from the pursuit of two bears, and if it had not been for the resolution of Hemskirk, who restrained their flight, some of their number might have fallen a prey to these ferocious animals.

The vessel was now amidst extensive fields of

ice, and huge masses, to which she was occasionally secured in her progress, appeared floating, or had run aground. One of these was calculated to be sixteen fathom above the water, and thirty-six under it, that is, more than three hundred feet from the summit to the base. The great fields of ice began to break up, with a noise like thunder, on the tenth of August, and the ship being fast to a huge piece aground, not less than four hundred, of smaller size, were driven past her by a current.

Lest she should be carried away by the ice, she was brought nearer the coast, into a more sheltered station; but it was soon necessary to shift her anchorage, according as circumstances required.

Climbing to the top of a lofty mountain in Nova Zembla, the mariners were encouraged with the prospect of an open sea towards the south-east, and concluded that they should thence be able to accomplish the voyage: But after repeated difficulties, losing a boat, and also the ship's rudder, they were completely surrounded by ice on the 27th of August. Temporary intervals, wherein the ice separated, succeeded; but at last the ship was enclosed and frozen in on all sides, so that the people were obliged to have recourse to the shore.

There they found a fresh water river about two miles inland, and saw the traces of animals, which they conceived to be deer: great store of wood likewise lay near the river, consisting of entire trees with the roots, drifted from other countries. Thus having no alternative, the Dutch resolved to winter in this desolate region.

Meantime, the ice accumulated greatly round the vessel: her prow was raised far above its surface, while the stern, sunk behind, was crushed to-

gether in such a manner, that the cracking of the timbers rendered the mariners apprehensive she would be utterly destroyed. They had dragged their boat over the ice to the land, and in the next place got out a quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions, wherewithal to fortify themselves against wild beasts and hunger, during their dreary abode.

On the fourteenth of September, they began to collect the drift wood for building a hut, and prepared sledges, with which it was with great labour drawn over the ice and snow, near to the place where the vessel lay. Thirteen men were employed in dragging the sledges, and three in preparing each lading of wood; but they could make no more than two trips a day from fatigue and the approaching darkness.

While thus industriously occupied, the carpenter unfortunately died on the twenty-third of September, and was next day interred by his surviving comrades, in the cleft of a hill, as the ground was too hard for them to dig a grave. There were now sixteen persons in all, but some of the number frequently indisposed.

The rafters of the hut were laid, though, on account of excessive cold, the people were scarce able to work; and if any of them chanced to put a nail in their mouths, as workmen are wont to do, it stuck to the skin, and blood followed its removal. Nothing but urgent necessity could have induced them to continue their operations. A great fire was kindled all around the hut, to thaw the earth, that they might bring it up, and make the under part a little closer: the ground, however, was frozen so very hard and deep, that it would not yield on that occasion, and there would

have been too great a waste of wood in trying it again.

The people having shot a bear, took out its entrails, and set it upright on its four legs, to freeze, in which state they meant, if possible, to carry it to Holland. Sometime afterwards, a seaman being suddenly surprised and pursued by another bear, hastily ran towards the ship with the bear following him, until it reached the first, now frozen over, and totally covered, except one of the paws : here the animal made a stop, and allowed the man time to save his life.

At length the hut was finished on the 12th of October 1596, when half the crew left the ship, to sleep that night ashore : but they suffered severely from the cold, owing to scarcity of bed-clothes ; and as the chimney was not completed, the smoke in the hut was intolerable.

In the next place, the launch was dragged ashore with incredible difficulty ; and, as the absence of the sun was about to leave the seamen in perpetual night, they made all possible haste to land the remainder of the provisions required. They had no hopes of the vessel floating, on which account the rudder was also carried away for preservation, until the ice might thaw in the succeeding year.

The preparations for wintering in Nova Zembla were completed, while the sun was still visible from the surface of the earth. On the thirtieth of October, a lamp was fitted to burn all night, and supplied with melted fat of bears which had been killed for oil. On the second of November, only part of the sun was seen in the horizon ; and on the fourth he had sunk entirely under it.

At this time the surgeon contrived a bath for the people in a cask, which was found extreme-

ly salutary and beneficial from their confinement. Setting traps in the neighbourhood, they caught white toxes, which began to be quite common : whereas the bears had entirely left them as the sun disappeared, and their flesh, resembling that of a rabbit, was much relished by the people. A device was soon adapted of placing the traps, so that the captured animal could immediately be drawn into the hut.

On distributing the bread, each man's allowance was restricted to four pounds five ounces in eight days ; and as the strength of the beer brought ashore had been destroyed by successive freezing and thawing, each had two small cups of wine daily. A large Dutch cheese was ate by the whole in company, and sixteen remaining delivered to the people, each being left to his own economy.

Repeated storms of snow, at this period, began to block up the hut without : and within the cold was almost insupportable. While the people washed their linen, it froze immediately when taken out of warm water : nay, one side froze while the other was next the fire. They were almost suffocated from the closeness of the hut not allowing proper vent to the smoke ; but the fire falling rather lower than usual for some days, ice formed two inches thick on the floor, and the beds were even covered with it. Except when cooking their provisions, the people lay constantly in bed, and then they heard such explosions among the ice at sea, as could only be occasioned by huge mountains, bursting asunder, and tumbling down into a confused heap of fragments. Intense cold having stopped their clock, though additional weights were hung to it, they prepared a twelve.

hour sand-glass, to enable them to ascertain how the time passed.

The cold was so intense on the 6th of December, that they scarce expected to be able to survive it. Nothing could keep them in heat: their wine froze, and they were obliged to melt it every two days, when half a pint was served out to each man. It was their only liquid except snow water; a beverage not very suitable to their condition.

Before this time, the day was so dark, that the mariners could not distinguish it from night: so that on one occasion, when perplexed by the stopping of the clock, they continued in bed, believing it was still night; and, on another occasion, they only knew that it was night by the moon shining bright, and remaining constantly above the horizon.

On the seventh of December, they considered it necessary to repair to the vessel for some coal that had been left in her, and with this made a good fire in the evening, which revived them greatly. To enjoy its comfort as much as possible, they sat up late, and closed all the apertures of their hut to keep in the heat. But a seaman, already indisposed, who could bear the effect of the fire less than the others, began to complain, and all soon found themselves attacked with giddiness; whence they could scarce stand until opening the door. In fact, he who first reached it, swooning away, fell out on the snow. Gerard de Veer, however, recovered him by sprinkling vinegar in his face, and the admission of the fresh air removed the sensations overcoming the others. The captain then distributed a glass of wine to the men to strengthen them.

The leather of the seamen's shoes was now fro-

zen to such a degree of hardness, that they could not use them, on which account they made a kind of slippers of skins, and put several pair of socks over one another to increase the heat. The ice stood an inch thick on the sides of the hut, and when they went out in clear weather, their clothes were whitened with frost and shivering isicles. The fire was increased within, taking the precaution of leaving the chimney open, that the smoke might get vent.

Many stars being visible on a clear night, the Dutch, by an observation on the 14th of January 1597, found themselves in 76° of north latitude. About that time the wood brought into the hut being all consumed, they began to shovel away the snow on the outside to come at more, which, on account of the excessive rigour of the weather, was with difficulty accomplished.

Seven of their number next repaired to the ship, and found the ice had rose higher within, and that she was still fast frozen up. In the cabin they caught a fox, which was carried home and ate.

Several successive days of stormy weather confined the mariners to their hut; there they heard the foxes running over it, and, as their provisions were beginning to decline, regretted that they could not catch them. But the intense cold almost absorbed all other sensations, and they had recourse to hot stones laid on their feet and bodies, to keep them warm. However, they comforted themselves, that, as the sun was now at the lowest, he would not be long of returning to gladden them with his view. While sitting before the fire, their backs would be quite white with the frost, and, on stretching their feet towards it for

warmth, their stockings would be burnt before they began to feel its influence. A cloth hoisted on a pole, thrust up through the chimney, to shew the direction of the wind, immediately became stiff and inflexible.

In this way did the year 1596 terminate, and 1597 begin.

Though it proved necessary to diminish the allowance of wine, when twelfth night arrived, the seamen requested the captain to permit them all to make merry, with some savings of the wine, which several, instead of consuming, had stored up. Therefore, they made pancakes with meal and oil, and, soaking biscuit among wine, drank to the three kings of Cologne. They also drew lots, and that to be king of Nova Zembla fell to the gunner. The whole, in short, were as jovial as if they had been at home in their own houses, in Holland.

Again visiting the ship, it was evident to them that bears of different sizes had been there, and, on striking a light and going below, they found the ice a foot higher than formerly. Almost despairing that the vessel would ever float again, they thought it prudent to spare the remaining coals, lest they might find themselves obliged to attempt navigating homewards in the open launch.

The foxes, in the next place, beginning to disappear, indicated the return of bears; for so long as the latter retreated, the former came out, and were but little seen when the bears were numerous.

On the 24th of January, the day being clear with a west-wind, Gerard de Veer, Jacob Hemskirk, and another, went down to the sea-side, towards the south of Nova Zembla, from whence

they unexpectedly saw the edge of the sun above the horizon. They hastened to impart the welcome tidings to Barentz and their other companions ; but their report was discredited ; for Barentz affirmed, that it was too early for his return by fourteen days. The two following days being dark and cloudy, doubts of the fact were still farther entertained, and many of the people positively affirmed that it was impossible. On the twenty-sixth, a man died who had been some time sick, and next morning, his comrades, with great difficulty, owing to the excessive cold, dug a grave for him in the snow, seven feet deep. Having performed the last offices to him, attended by such funeral service as circumstances would admit, they returned within the hut to breakfast. Then discoursing concerning the prodigious quantity of snow, which unremittingly fell in the place, they said among themselves, that, if again blocked up by it, they should find a way of climbing out through the chimney ; accordingly, the captain tried the experiment, while another going out of the hut to ascertain whether he succeeded, saw the complete orb of the sun above the horizon.

The weather still remained uncertain, though the people, relieved from the tedium of perpetual night, took exercise to strengthen them. But their hut was repeatedly blocked up by snow, and, to avoid the labour of always clearing it away from the door, they, on those occasions, found an exit by the chimney.

Bears began to return along with the sun : and one which was killed, afforded at least an hundred pounds of grease, which the seamen melted for their lamp. But a number of foxes coming to devour the carcase, the apprehension of other bears

being attracted thither, induced them to bury it deep under the snow. They considered it expedient to collect more wood for fuel, dragging it on a sledge as before : however, their strength being much reduced, their task was accomplished with far greater labour. Though the cold moderated for a time, towards the end of February, its rigour increased about the middle of March, and on the twenty-fourth of that month the hut was totally blocked up.

On the sixth of April, the mariners attempted to shoot a bear approaching close to the hut ; but, from the dampness of the weather, their guns missed fire, whereupon the animal came down steps cut in the snow, and boldly run against the door. The captain confused and hurried, was unable to bar it with a piece of wood used for that purpose ; but held it so fast, that the animal could not enter, and it retired ; again, returning in a short time, it encompassed the hut, roaring frightfully all the while : then getting to the top, the people believed the chimney would have been broken down by its fury, and the sail which they had hoisted was tore to pieces. No other damage followed, and the darkness of the night precluded them from trying to shoot the bear.

At last the sea began to open, though the mariners despaired of disengaging the ship or of rendering her serviceable for a voyage. Still she was hemmed in by ice, sometimes heaped in mountains around her : and their anxiety was increased by observing that, about the middle of March, the sea was so open, that the vessel was within 75 paces of it ; whereas a new frost increased the distance on the fourth of May to 500 paces.

Thus the only means of quitting Nova Zembla,

seemed to consist in the launch and boat: but the twenty-ninth of May arrived before the people attempted to dig either out of the snow. However willing, their reduced strength rendered their progress slow; and after they had laboured hard, compelled them to desist: on another trial they were put to flight by a bear. Six days work at length enabled them to put the launch in a condition to be dragged over the hard ice and snow to the ship. There they sawed off the stern, which was narrow, and built one broader and higher, so that it might be better adapted to stand the sea.

The boat was in the same way got out of the snow, and dragged to the ship, as also several sledges laden with articles from the hut. These operations occupied a long time: they were frequently interrupted, and ultimately accomplished with great difficulty, from the state of the weather and repeated dangers. Nevertheless, on the twelfth of June, nothing remained but to smooth the way for the launch and boat, down to the water's edge, and drag them along on the thirteenth.

This being done, William Barentz, the pilot, wrote a brief recital of what had happened: that he and his companions had left Holland for the purpose of sailing to China by the north; but their ship being frozen up by ice, they were compelled, amidst many hardships, to winter ashore. The narrative he put into a musket barrel, hung up in the chimney of the hut, lest any mariners in future might experience a like adventure. The captain also thought it proper to obtain the subscription of his company, to a narrative of their dangers and distresses, and of the necessity to which they were at last reduced of hazarding a voyage homewards in two open boats.

Eleven loads of goods were, in the next place, dragged to the water's edge, and then William Barentz and Claes Andrisz, who had long been sick, were drawn on a sledge from the hut to the boats. The whole company was equally divided, and one of the sick attached to each, and, on the fourteenth of ~~June~~ 1597, after ten months dreary residence, the mariners set sail with a westerly wind from Nova Zembla.

But their dangers were not yet at a close; for, on the seventeenth, the ice drifted violently against the boats, and crushed them so forcibly among loose flakes, that they were nearly destroyed. The captain earnestly wished to reach a solid field, whereby the boats might be drawn up in security: ~~no~~ one, however, would attempt to carry out a rope, until Gerard de Veer, being the lightest of all, ventured to make his way from piece to piece, at the hazard of his life, and threw one over a projection, which enabled the others to pull themselves close to it.

The sick men were then carried out and laid on clothes and blankets spread over the ice, while the two boats were hauled from the water upon it. Two days before, Barentz, on passing Icy Cape, inquired whether the boats had reached it; and having been answered in the affirmative, requested to be lifted up, that he might see it once more. At nine in the morning of the twentieth, the mate came into the launch, to tell the captain that Claes Andrisz was almost expiring: on which Barentz said that he could not survive him long. But the people observing that he was occupied in examining a chart of all the places seen in the voyage, which had been made by De Veer, entertained no apprehensions concerning him. They remained

around him, engaged in conversation, until Barentz, putting the chart aside, desired De Veer to give him something to drink : having drank, he found himself extremely ill : his eyes rolled in his head, and he died so suddenly, that there was not time to call the captain, who was in the launch. His death was a grievous affliction, to his comrades, for their chief confidence rested in his skill in the navigation of so perilous a voyage. Andrisz expired just about the same time.

The boats now underwent some repair, and were dragged by main force, first fifty paces over the ice, and then being taken a second time out of the water, an hundred more. They were again involved among drift ice, and driven out to sea by a tempest, in which the mizen-mast of the launch was broke asunder in two places, and she was almost sunk. But little time elapsed before solid fields again closed upon them, and the mariners were visited by bears, as they had been on the shore of Nova Zembla. Three of these animals approached about midnight, and the sentinel having given the alarm, the seamen discharged their pieces, then loaded only with swan shot, which made no impression on the bears, except inducing them to retreat; one was then killed by bullets, and the others ran away, but, returning next day, one of them carried off the dead bear in its mouth to a considerable distance, where both fed upon it. Another discharge from a musket frightened them, when the seamen went to the place where they found the dead animal half devoured; but they were much surprised at the strength of the bear, which alone could carry off the carcase, while four of themselves could scarce lift up the part remaining from the ice. Successive injuries sus-

tained by the launch, and the dangerous situation of the crew, obliged them once more to haul her upon the ice for repairs. Doing so was attended with more toil and hazard than before; for pieces of brittle ice gave way, and, independent of their legs and arms being repeatedly endangered, their lives were often in jeopardy. The boats were now dragged above 340 paces over the ice to the water, and, after making slow progress, several of the mariners reached Cross Island, where they got a number of eggs. These proved a salutary refreshment; and, at the same time, all the remaining wine was shared among the people, affording three glasses to each.

The open sea was soon obstructed; whence it was necessary, on the eighteenth of June, to unlade the boats, though this operation as well as others always became more and more irksome to the mariners from their decreasing strength: and here they were obliged to drag them no less than a thousand paces over the solid ice.

In a few days they came to Cape Cant, where they were so fortunate as to collect a great number of eggs, and to kill many birds. Twenty-two in one cliff were killed with stones, and they were so tame, never having had mankind to dread before, that they suffered themselves to be caught in their nests. Each had only a single egg deposited on the bare rock, without any straw or feathers to promote heat, and the mariners were surprised how they could breed in such rigorous cold. At another Cape they killed 125 birds; and there taking an altitude, found their position to be in $73^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude.

At length they reached St Lawrence Bay, where two Russian barks lay at anchor, and they

recognized the crew to be the same individuals whom they had seen the preceding year. Ignorant of each others language, they could communicate only by signs, and the Russians expressed much concern at learning the loss of the Dutch ship, wherein they reminded the company that they had drank good wine. During thirteen months, that is, ever after the time that Cornelisz had separated from them, the Dutchmen had never seen a human being excepting those of their own party.

It was indispensable, however, to prosecute the voyage, therefore they quickly left their Russian acquaintances, and endeavoured to gain the coast of Russia. But having met other vessels belonging to the same country, they discovered that they were steering a different course from what was intended ; and, on narrower investigation, saw that the error arose from their compass, being affected by the magnetism of iron hoops, binding a chest on which it stood. Nevertheless, they made Kildwyn, on the coast of Lapland, on the 25th of August, where they were civilly received at a Russian settlement.

The Russians told the mariners, that some other Dutch vessels lay at Cola, not far distant on the opposite side of a mountain ; and a Laplander being procured for a guide, one of their own company was dispatched thither for intelligence. But it was not without great astonishment, that, along with the emissary, they saw John Cornelisz Ryp return, who had separated from them so long before, and whom they concluded to have been lost with all his crew. They joyfully accompanied him to his ship, lying at Cola, and thus forsook their two open boats, in which they had accomplished a danger-

ous voyage of 400 leagues, through icy seas and unfrequented shores.

Cornelisz set sail on the 17th of September 1597, and reached Holland in safety in the end of the following month. The twelve surviving mariners, to the admiration of the citizens of Amsterdam, appeared in their Nova Zembla apparel: the fame of their adventures was soon disseminated, and they were carried from thence, to entertain the foreign ambassadors at the Hague with a recital of what had befallen them.

SHIPWRECK OF FRANCIS PYRARD,

IN THE CORBIN, 1601 ; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS
SUBSEQUENT MISFORTUNES.

“ A COMPANY of merchants, at St Malo in France, fitted out two vessels for the East India trade, one called the *Croissant*, of 400 tons burden, and the other of 200 tons, called the *Corbin*. Equally desirous of visiting India, and of making my fortune, I embarked on board the latter.

We left St Malo on the 18th of May 1601, with a favourable wind: but when only nine or ten leagues from the land, our mizen-mast was carried away by the middle, whereon we fired a gun to give notice to the commander of the expedition, who was in the *Croissant*. As he did not wish the voyage to be interrupted on account of this accident, the carpenters of the *Croissant* were sent on board the *Corbin*, who, together with our own, repaired the mast, for one half was still standing. What influenced the commander's determination, was his dread of losing the voyage, because most of the mariners in the ships were so much impressed by this slight incident being an evil omen, that they loudly intimated their design of abandoning the vessel, if she entered any French port. For my own part, I never had a good opinion of our voyage, .

from the moment of embarkation, not owing to so fortuitous an occurrence indeed, but from the prevailing disorder and want of decorum. Neither piety nor devotion were seen; on the contrary, much swearing and blaspheming; no subordination to the officers; great indiscretions, and thence daily broils, larcenies, and other vices.

On the 3d of June, we discovered the Canary Islands; and on the 12th and 13th, the Cape de Verd Islands, which are ten in number; part are inhabited, and cultivated by the Portuguese, and part abound with wild animals. In one there is a vast quantity of rock salt; and in another, Isla de Fuego, is a mountain vomiting forth flames, which are visible at night.

Near the line, we saw immense quantities of flying fish, so numerous, that the sea was in a manner altogether covered with them. Pursued by their enemies, they leave the water, and support themselves in the air, while their wings remain wet. On the other hand, the sea birds closely pursue them, if they do not immediately seek their natural element. Thus, in attempting to escape both, a great many fell on board our ship.

On the 29th of August, we made the Isle of Anabon, and next day went on shore, where we were amicably received by the Portuguese. Trusting to their apparent sincerity, six of those in the long-boat put themselves entirely in their power, while she was coasting along the island; but they were soon attacked by a band of Portuguese and their slaves in ambush, the lieutenant of the Corbin killed, and the other five taken prisoners. They were delivered afterwards on payment of a ransom. Though the Portuguese declared, that we might traverse the island in safety, we always took

care to go well armed to the watering-place, which was at a little distance, in a valley. Even then the people fired on us, and rolled down stones from the heights, by which means several of our ship's crew were hurt and wounded.

This island is high, mountainous, and covered with wood. The natives are negroes, and go almost naked. Children are carried on the backs of their mothers, who throw their breasts over their shoulders to suckle them. The island abounds in fruit, such as oranges, bananas, and cocoa-nuts: and, about a league and a half distant, is a small barren rock, quite covered with penguins, in pursuit of which the officer who succeeded the deceased lieutenant broke his leg. We took a number of them, and, notwithstanding the blackness of their flesh, found it good eating. But this was not the only misfortune during our residence here; for such a dispute arose between the captain of the ship, and the chief factor, that it was like to involve the whole company in a general mutiny, and required the presence of the commander to restore tranquillity. Besides, an accident happened from the blowing up of some gunpowder in a boat, which wounded many men; and also, in trying to weigh our anchor, the cable parted, and the anchor was lost.

We arrived at St Helena, where our sick were much benefited by an abode of nine days, and enjoying the products of the island; and, on the twenty-ninth of November, doubled a dangerous shoal, called Abrolhos by the Portuguese, lying towards the coast of Brazil. We rejoiced greatly at escaping the danger, and a pint of wine extraordinary was distributed to each man. This custom we have adopted from the Portuguese, but,

for my part, I cannot approve of banquetting on the sea, which serves only to consume provisions and inebriate the sailors.

We now approached the Cape of Good Hope, which we passed in the night, and saw Cape Needles in the morning. A violent hurricane rose on the sixth of January 1602, during which a man fell overboard and was drowned. Another more terrible storm prevailed during four days and nights, from the seventh of February, off the land of Natal, on the coast of Ethiopia: as it took us unexpectedly, we were obliged to cut away the main-top-mast, which fell into the sea; several guns broke loose, but were fortunately secured before doing material injury. We now had lost sight of the Croissant, and did not again fall in with her until the nineteenth of the month, when we anchored in St Augustine Bay, in the island of Madagascar.

Here we remained nearly three months, but lost a great many men from the unhealthiness of the climate. However, we refitted the vessels, and, having obtained some provisions, set sail for the Comorro Islands, where we trafficked some time with the inhabitants, who are a mixture of various nations, as the natives of Ethiopia, Caffres, Arabians, and Persians, were found among them. They are of a treacherous disposition, and had lately before tried to surprise an English vessel lying at anchor. Great abundance of animals, birds, and fruit, may be obtained from them, and a trade is carried on by the Portuguese from Mozambique. Here I observed a strange phenomenon, which was a monstrous fish, with a head resembling that of a man, and on the skin a kind of beard, apparently like fins; it plunged into the water on our

approach, and we could only see part of its back, which was scaly.

On the first of July, in the latitude of 5° north, during fine weather, we remarked that the Croissant wanted her long boat, which had been kept astern from our departure; and we were informed, that a wave having filled it, the tow rope broke, and it sunk. We now came in sight of a number of rocks and islands, which the commander, and his pilot, who was an Englishman, supposed to be the islands of *Diego de Rios*: but the captain of the Corbin, and others on board, thought them the Maldive Islands, and that it was necessary to be on the look out. Finding it prudent to stand off and on during the night, our captain, who was very ill, desired me to warn the master and his mate to keep watch, as we were probably in a dangerous place; notwithstanding the pilot of the Croissant was of a different opinion. However, the caution of the captain was unavailing; all fell sound asleep, even those who had the watch; the master and his mate were both intoxicated; the light kept on the poop beside the compass went out, and he who had the helm for the watch, as well as a cabin-boy beside him, fell asleep.

While the whole were in this condition, the ship struck twice, and when the shock had awakened them, she struck a third time, and lay over on her side. Our pitiable situation may be conceived. Expecting certain death, some loudly bewailed their misfortune, while some betook themselves to their prayers, and others to mutual confessions. Instead of having a captain to command and encourage us, we had one who only excited our commiseration, for he had been a

month confined to bed ; though, weak as he was, he now rose and came among us in his shirt.

* The masts were next cut away to prevent the ship from totally oversetting, and a gun fired to warn the Croissant of her danger. She escaped from being far astern, and having kept the watches well. The sea broke over us, and all expected the ship to go down ; but, having struck on a rock, she stuck fast, which inspired us with some hope, and as day dawned we saw islands five or six leagues distant, across a shoal. Meantime a small vessel came in sight, standing towards us until within half a league, when one of our best swimmers leapt overboard, and, advancing, used every supplication to the men in her to come nearer. His entreaties were disregarded, and he returned, with great hazard and difficulty, to the wreck. We were at a loss to what we should ascribe this inhumanity ; but I afterwards understood that it is strictly prohibited to come near a wreck, unless by express command of the king of the Maldives.

I could not avoid being astonished at the disorder and insubordination that prevailed among the mariners. Several, amidst this misery and despair, continued to eat and drink plentifully, answering to our remonstrances, that, as we were all lost, they chose to mitigate the approaches of death. Then they quarrelled with each other, and broke open the chests of those engaged in prayer, and who were thinking no more of the affairs of this world.

We endeavoured, as the last means of safety, to get out the boat, which was accomplished with very great difficulty, from the masts being cut away, and then prepared to put it in repair, as it

was open in many parts, and injured by the dashing of the waves. Darkness interrupted our progress, and we were forced to remain in this distress all night in the ship, which was almost full of water, from the sea often breaking over us.

Next morning, the 3d of July, we tried to get the boat over the shoal, by ourselves swimming at the same time, and this we obtained with infinite labour and hazard. Then having all embarked, taking swords, musquets, and half-pikes along with us, we rowed towards the islands. But our boat, which was a very bad one, was too deeply laden, and made a great quantity of water; and five or six times we were almost overset. At length, after many alarms and much fatigue, we reached an island called Pouladon.

The inhabitants insisted on our giving up our arms before permitting us to land, whence we were obliged to surrender at discretion. They drew the boat ashore, and, taking off the rudder, sent it, as also the mast and rigging, to one of the neighbouring islands. This shewed their prudence; for the island being small, not above a league in compass, and themselves not exceeding twenty or twenty-five in number, armed men more numerous might have taken the island, and carried away their boats; which, indeed, would have been easy for us to do had we known their weakness. Thus they took the precaution of likewise sending off all their boats.

We were conducted to a hut in the middle of the island, where we got some fruit. The chief man there, called Ibrahim, who could speak a few words of Portuguese, came and questioned us: after which his people carried away every thing belonging to us, saying, all pertained to the king

since our ship was cast away. Seeing us have a piece of scarlet cloth, he asked what it was; on which we replied, that it was a present for the king, and that all the ship's cargo was for him also. However, the truth was, that we had brought it with us apprehensive that it might be spoilt by the sea-water. No sooner was this expressed, than not one of the inhabitants presumed to touch it, or so much as to look at it; and we considered it prudent to request this chief man's acceptance of two or three yards, in hopes of better treatment. He thanked us for the gift, but made us promise to conceal the fact, otherwise his life might by that means be forfeited. Soon afterwards, on hearing that the king's officers were coming, he returned the cloth, praying us to deny that it had ever been touched by him. The king, however, came to the knowledge of the fact six months afterwards; and, highly enraged, would have disgraced him, had he not been sick of a disease, of which he died, aged seventy-five.

Next day, the master of the ship and two seamen were conducted to the king, in the principal island, called Malé, on which all the rest are dependent, about forty leagues distant. The master presented him with the scarlet cloth, which was well received, and he was lodged within the precincts of the palace, though less with the design of doing him honour, than to secure his person. The king then sent his brother-in-law and several soldiers, to recover what they could from the wreck. On their arrival at Pouladon we were better treated, and frequently conducted along with them to the ship to assist in getting the goods out of her. Every day they procured something or other, until their return to the king. Then we were distribut-

ed throughout the neighbouring islands. Our captain was carried to Malé, where he was well received by the king, who promised to send him in a bark to the Island of Sumatra, which the commander had reached, but I know not whether he would have fulfilled his promise, as the captain died five or six weeks afterwards. I was conducted, along with two others, to a small isle called Paindoue, similar to Pouladon, and only a league distant, where we were well treated from the first.

When the Corbin was cast away we saved about 1000 crowns, by the captain's advice. These were put up in linen girdles, and wore by some of the crew; but there not being enough for the whole, others of us wanted them. Afraid that we might be robbed of this money, we buried it in Pouladon the first night of our arrival, resolved to dig it up again only for the general behoof. Our companions remaining in the island, however, having received no food, thought of exchanging it for provisions: and the islanders thenceforward would give nothing without payment; thus those possessed of money refused to share it with their companions, several of whom died of absolute hunger. On the other hand, the climate was fatal to some who had money, and, in their dying moments, their comrades came to deprive them of it.

Neither I nor my two companions sent to the island of Paindoue, were owners of any of the girdles, which reduced us to great necessity. For, although the natives gave us a scanty subsistence at first, they withdrew it when they saw the rest paying money in the other island. They secretly carried provisions to Pouladon and sold them,

which is strictly prohibited by their laws, as all the money and cargo of a wrecked vessel belongs to the king.

We were obliged to seek mussels on the sand, or sometimes found a dead fish cast up by the sea, and entire days passed without our obtaining any thing for subsistence. At length the inhabitants, seeing we had no money to give them, became somewhat more compassionate, and allowed us to assist in their occupations; for which we were rewarded with fish, if it was fishing, or with cocoa-nuts, rice, millet, or honey, if services ashore. To obtain such things we submitted to the vilest drudgery; and it was well that they had occasion for our labour, as only then they bestowed provisions on us. Therefore it was unlucky when foul weather prevailed, because they were unwilling either to damage the sails of their boats, or to get wet themselves in fishing, which they never practised except in a clear and serene sky. Our covering was a shade on the sea-shore, built to shelter a boat, close above and open at the sides. The wind and rain, and also high tides, produced great inconvenience, from it being within ten paces of the sea, and brought sickness on my two companions.

I endeavoured to recommend myself to the chief men of the island, who carried me to see my friends in Pouladon, where I found them in a deplorable condition, almost dying of hunger; for the natives would supply them no longer than their money lasted. While we walked on the beach together, seeking something to eat, we found a very large tortoise, containing five or six hundred eggs, which we cut in pieces; and, having obtained the loan of a kettle, boiled them with fresh water. But

we fell sick, and were in great danger, which I ascribed to our ravenous appetite, and also from not using salt water.

Meantime, the king's people always came to recover whatever they might get from the wreck of the Corbin; and we were told that he would give our captain a bark, capable of conveying us all away. But many of our comrades, who were originally about forty in number, had died, among whom were the captain, the chief factor, the master's mate, and others. When the master saw little prospect of gaining his liberty, he planned a method of escaping, which he communicated the second time he saw me: at the same time expressing his regret that I could not participate in it, as that was utterly beyond his power. Notwithstanding the islanders distrusted us so much as to remove all their boats, he found means to surprise the bark of the chief man of Paindoue, going to Pouladon, when he was least suspected. He embarked along with twelve others, taking provisions with him, which he had concealed in the woods, and leaving eight of us behind, four sick, and four well. But although his design succeeded, we suffered cruelly for it. The healthy ones were severely beaten, and the sick left to die of hunger. They lay grovelling on the ground to eat the grass; and the lieutenant of our ship, who was sprung of a good family of St Malo, died miserably in this manner.

The king sent two of his chief men, about three months and a half after our shipwreck, to visit the vessel for the last time, and also to recover whatever money the natives had got from us. One of them was of high rank, and the other superintendent of his navy. Immediately on returning from the ship, he began to put another part of his com-

mission in execution, which consisted in beating the people to make them confess; and, as a further means of attaining the truth, their thumbs were put into the cleft of a stick, which was squeezed together, and then tied. Thus part of the money was given up, but not the whole. We exculpated the inhabitants of Paindoue from any participation, and enabled them to escape this torture.

The chief offered to carry me to the king on his return: and, accordingly, I embarked along with him to the great sorrow of my comrades. Neither was it without grief on my part, which I was obliged carefully to disguise, for I knew myself to be among people who loved gaiety, and had an aversion to those who were dull and melancholy. One of my comrades had particularly attached himself to me, from the day that we sailed together; and, in spite of my exertions to conceal it, the tears came over my cheeks, when about to part with him. The chief was moved by the sight: I always found him both courteous and compassionate, and not less magnanimous or generous than those who owed their birth to another country: thus, he permitted my friend to accompany me fifteen or sixteen leagues from Malé, where the king resided. He told me, that he durst not carry him further, lest the king might be displeased; and, on that account, he was left on a small island called Maconodon.

Having arrived at Malé, we repaired to the king's palace. In the evening, he was employed in examining the articles belonging to the Corbin; and when I had made my obeisance, he asked what was the use of several things with which he was unacquainted. I explained them as well as I could in the language of the country, which I had attentively

studied from the time of the shipwreck. He occupied me some subsequent days in explaining the manners and customs of the Europeans, and particularly of the French. Next he shewed me his wives, with whom I was several days employed in like manner, in answering their questions, concerning the appearance, fashions, and marriages of the French women; and they frequently sent for me, unknown to the king, who would not have permitted it.

Fifteen or sixteen of our men had been conducted to Malé, though only three were there on my arrival, namely, two Flemings and a Frenchman, who was dangerously ill, and who died eight days afterwards. The king was so much offended at the escape of the master of the *Corbin* and the rest from Pouladon, that he made a solemn oath, never to allow one of us to depart. Had it not been for this, I was assured, by several of the chief men, that he would have given us a vessel as we desired.

The pilot having heard the king's determination, which was perpetual confinement to the islands, resolved to seize a bark, and escape like those of Pouladon. He therefore engaged three seamen in the enterprize, and, with their assistance, concealed things requisite in a wood; but their frequent visits there attracted notice, and their design was discovered: the king obtaining intelligence of it, and ordered them to be strictly watched; so that at night, when in the act of embarking, they were seized and put in irons. They were then carried to sea, under pretence of conducting them to other islands; but their heads were struck off, and their bodies thrown overboard. Neither is it surprising that they were so punished; because their crime was treason by the laws of the coun-

try, which prohibit the removal of any boat from the shore. Those who had escaped from Pouladon, were taken by the Portuguese, put in irons, and conveyed to Goa.

In ten days, I obtained the removal of my friend to Malé, and in two months, that of the other five, who were dispersed among the rest of the islands: but with desertion, we were now reduced to the number of nine, four Frenchmen, and five Flemings. Unluckily the latter associated by themselves, and also slandered the French to the islanders, which created misunderstandings among us; and they were, besides, jealous of my credit with the king, which my skill in the language enabled me to preserve.

The oath of the king was truly the cause of our detention, for I saw all those that were shipwrecked in the same manner, during my residence, obtain their liberty. Meantime, I fell dangerously sick, and remained many months in that condition. The king testified great commiseration for my misfortune, and sent me to a neighbouring island, called Baudos, to the care of a person judged very expert in performing cures.

During these incidents, four of the Flemings determined to escape, by carrying off a boat; and as they inherited some of the property belonging to their deceased comrades, it was not difficult for them to obtain the necessaries for their enterprize. Accordingly, they seized a boat at night, and set sail; but a storm coming on, they were probably cast away, from being unacquainted with the navigation of the surrounding seas, for they were never afterwards heard of, and pieces of the boat were cast ashore.

The king was highly offended at this third de-

sertion; especially as one of the men was a gunner, and he preferred keeping him on that account. In two days my companion died, as I believe of grief and despair of ever returning to his wife and children, whom he had left behind: thus only two Frenchmen and two Flemings remained. We were accused of aiding the flight of the deserters, though we satisfied our accusers that we had no share in it: However, all fell into disgrace, and ceased to receive provisions as before allowed us. Two of my companions also were banished to another island, from which they were recalled by the following measure. One of them who had a mechanical turn, and could work neatly in soft wood, made the model of a ship about a cubit long, in exact imitation of a vessel of 500 tons, with all the masts, sails and rigging in proportion. This he sent to the king, who admired it so much that the artist was recalled, and we were taken into favour.

The Maldives consist of an immense number of islands; the king called himself the Sovereign of thirteen provinces, and twelve thousand islands. Perhaps this is only a figurative mode of expression, to indicate a very great number: but, in fact, the natives told me there were twelve thousand. The whole are divided into provinces, called Atollons, each about thirty leagues in circuit. The heat of the climate is excessive, but the nights are cool, and a great quantity of dew falls. Constant rains prevail during winter, though the water never freezes from the temperature of the air.

It is supposed that the original inhabitants of these islands were Cingalese; but while the natives of Ceylon are black, and ill shaped, those of the Maldives are well formed, and, except as to colour,

which tends to olive, there is little difference between them and the French. Those from Malé, towards the north, are more civilized than the inhabitants of the southern islands.

Generally speaking, they are a lively people, and much given to mechanical employments; they have even letters and sciences in their way, particularly astrology, to which they are greatly addicted. The women would be handsome, were it not for their olive cast: still there are some as white as Europeans. Their hair is black, which is esteemed a great beauty; and to attain it, they shave the heads of the girls every eight days, until they are eight or ten years old, which makes it come in very black. It is anointed with odoriferous oils, and other cosmetics, and wore very long and thick.

The king's wives clothe themselves like other women of rank, only with a greater quantity of gold and jewels. They are visited, for their amusement in the evening, by the wives and daughters of the chief men, who then carry presents to them. They rarely go out; but when that is the case, they are preceded by women and slaves, whose province is to cause the men retire. When pregnant, they go to bathe in the sea, as the rest of the women of the islands do: this being considered extremely conducive to health: on which occasion, a portion of the sea is inclosed with pales, and hung round with cloth to receive them; and they afterwards retire to a small bathing-house, to wash in fresh water.

The gateway of the palace, which is built of stone, one storey high, neat and well made, is formed like a square tower, where musicians are assembled during festivals: and at the entrance there is a guard mounted, with several pieces of cannon.

In one hall there are soldiers ; further on there is another hall for the chief men, and others of rank. The floor is raised three feet above the ground, and closely planked on account of the ants ; it is covered with parti-coloured matting, made in the islands, and the walls are hung with silk tapestry. Our ship's flag was held in high estimation by the king, who ordered it to be spread on the floor ; it bore the French arms, well executed in gold, on a blue ground. The inner apartments are also ornamented with silk tapestry, enriched with various colours, which almost dazzle the eye. These come from China, Bengal, and Mausulipatam.

The king was clothed in a fine white cotton robe, falling below the girdle, with buttons of solid gold before. He wore a small scarlet bonnet, which colour is allowed to no other person, ornamented with gold ; and on the top a large button of gold, with some precious stone, which is a badge of royalty, and around the whole a red turban. A white umbrella was carried to shade him ; which also is an indication of royalty, as no subject is permitted to use the same colour.

This king, unlike his predecessors, who passed their time in fishing, and frequently leaving the palace, principally remained at home, conversing with the queens and courtiers, and overseeing the works of artists, such as painters, goldsmiths, and armourers. He provided them with materials for their work, and rewarded them in proportion to the excellence of its execution. He was of a quick and lively disposition, knew a great many things, and could even practise mechanical employments himself. Besides, he was extremely inquisitive, and always desirous of obtaining information, particularly from strangers, if they were

acquainted with things of which he and his islanders were ignorant.

These people use much ceremony and formality in their marriages. When subjects are married, they make presents to the king and his queens, and also to the great men : on the contrary, when the king marries, he receives presents from the whole people, both high and low. A man may marry three wives, providing he can maintain them, but no more. The women carry nothing with them to their husbands, to whom the expence of the nuptials belongs, and who must provide what is called a jointure to his wife. On this account, the high priest sometimes refuses to sanction the marriage, when he sees the husband unable to provide a sufficient jointure, which is judged of by her rank and not his.

Youths may marry when they please, but orphan girls not before the age of fifteen. If the fathers are alive they consider it wrong that their daughters should be without husbands after the age of ten. A man may quit his wife, provided he has her consent: if she refuses, he may leave her indeed, but he must pay her jointure. The wife may also leave her husband with his consent, though not otherwise. This kind of divorce, which is very common, is called *Varicor*, and after it the parties are entitled to marry again. However, they may be themselves reunited three subsequent times; and as they are regardless of their marriages and divorces, it sometimes happens, that after three of each they still wish to come together once more. Here they are restrained by the laws, by which another reunion is prohibited, unless the woman shall have previously been married to another man. Mediators of

this kind are found, who make a sham marriage for one night, on being bribed to do so; and in two or three days, the parties are separated. Three months afterwards, the husband and wife may be reunited. These mediators are held in great contempt, and even despised as infamous by the common people. By means of such divorces and marriages, the changes that take place are quite surprising: some men have had twenty-four successive wives; and, in the same manner, the women have a great many husbands; but instead of considering it reprehensible, they rather pride themselves on it, and will readily recount the number, and their different qualities. If the marriage is dissolved by death, a woman must remain four months and ten days a widow; and it is not enough, if she wishes another marriage, merely to assert that her husband is dead, she must prove his decease by three witnesses. Should he be out of the kingdom, she may marry in a year.

In the obsequies of the dead, they are very superstitious; the body of a man is washed by six men, and that of a woman, by six women. It is then wrapped in two pieces of cotton cloth, putting the right-hand on the ear, and the left along the thigh; and, lying on the right side, it is carried on a bier to the place of interment. For three subsequent Fridays, prayers are said at the grave, and then a general feast is held among the relatives of the deceased, who say they send the soul to paradise.

In all their actions, even the most trifling, the Maldivians are scrupulous and superstitious, and deem it unlucky to salute a stranger before they have washed in the morning, and blackened their eye-brows and eye-lashes. They bathe several times a-day, not only from pleasure and cleanliness,

but because their religion enjoins them to do so. When overtaken by calms or tempests, during a voyage, they offer up vows to a divinity, called the king of the winds, to whom there is a spot dedicated in every island. In the same way, they venerate a king of the sea, whom they are extremely fearful of offending, insomuch that they dare not throw any thing overboard to windward, or look behind them in a boat. All their vessels are dedicated to those divinities of the winds and the sea.

Few crimes are punished with death, and never unless by express command of the king. The most usual punishments are, mutilation of some member, banishment to desert islands, or, for great offences, scourging with thick leather thongs. The chastisement is frequently so severe, that the malefactor dies under it. This is inflicted on women, and, as a further disgrace, their hair is cut off. During my residence, thirty women, several among them of the highest rank, were brought to punishment for a very extraordinary offence, which is known in no other part of the world but the Maldives. Their hair was first cut off, and then they were so cruelly beaten with large leather thongs, that two or three of them died. They were further threatened with drowning on a repetition of the offence. However, I was told that this did not restrain them, though the menaces were not put in execution. I remember also the punishment of a youth of seventeen, who was so bold, that he did not hesitate to attack six or seven people, and committed many robberies in the islands. He was taken, and his right-hand cut off. His countenance never changed, nor did he utter the smallest complaint. No sooner was the wound

healed, than he resorted to his former practices, in the course of which he was again seized and condemned to lose his left foot. He made no more account of this, than of losing his hand; nay, he pointed out to the executioner the way in which he should proceed, without testifying any indication of pain. Further, he thrust his foot into a vessel of cocoa oil, with as much indifference as if it had been cold water. This did not reclaim him, he still was addicted to robberies and other crimes, whence the king was obliged to banish him, and lastly to put him to death.

During my residence in the Maldivé Islands, which was between five and six years, I saw almost the whole court renewed, and many events took place. The Dutch had captured a valuable ship from the Portuguese, which they carried to Achen, to unload the cargo into their own warehouses. They found there by chance a captain and sixty men, who had lost their own vessel on the coast of Sumatra, to whom they committed the charge of their prize, with injunctions to convey one of their factors to Cambaya in her. This the shipwrecked men willingly undertook, and the Dutch loaded the vessel with a cargo worth 60,000 crowns but were unluckily cast away, in the course of the voyage, on the Maldivé Islands. I saw the Dutch factor, whose name was Martin Dombe, a sensible good-looking man, a native of Zealand. We remained about two months in the island of Malé, along with the master and mariners, when the king gave them a bark to depart. The master was a Mahometan, well known in these islands. But the cruelty of the king towards the master's mate is inconceivable; as also towards his son and two men, who were accused of secreting the treasure

of the ship, consisting in gold, silver and jewels. They were kept in confinement nearly a month, bound and beaten daily, and almost starved to death. But I never knew resolution equal to what they displayed, for they would make no confessions, and when the king saw this, he ordered them to be liberated, and their wounds to be healed. On leaving the prison, they were reduced to skin and bone, and I wonder that they could survive the treatment they received. I could not help admiring the constancy of the son, a boy not more than twelve or thirteen years old, who suffered it all with patience. It was true, however, that they had actually concealed the things of which they were suspected.

Not far from the same period, a ship bound from the king of Achen to Mausulipatam, or Bengal, was driven out of her course, and wrecked here; and the king, according to custom, got all the merchandise that she carried. The captain saved much gold and silver, and many jewels; he was well treated by the king, who gave him a vessel well-provisioned in which to return. The wrecks of vessels were a great source of revenue to the king, as well as his inheriting the property of strangers who died in his kingdom: and numerous accidents happened besides those I have related.

In the month of February 1607, the king had intelligence that a hostile fleet, consisting of sixteen gallies, was approaching the islands. This sudden event excited the greatest surprise in him and his people, and he immediately ordered seven gallies to put to sea, besides many barks and boats. The whole inhabitants instantly set to work, but they could not get under sail before the enemy came in sight, which more and more increased the

king's astonishment. He then commanded his most valuable property to be carried on board his galleys, and embarked along with his wives, thinking to save himself by flight in the remote islands towards the south, where the difficulty of access should prevent the enemy from following.

Every thing was interrupted at first sight of the galleys, for all the inhabitants hastened to load boats with their property, and fly to the other islands. When I saw such a state of alarm, I began to think of endeavouring to escape along with my three companions, though we were apprehensive of being forced to embark along with the rest. Happily, however, they were too much engaged with their own affairs to think of us, and now or never was the time of deliverance. During the prevalence of the tumult and confusion at the enemy's approach, we feigned equal dread and distress as the natives themselves, which repressed any distrust of our intentions.

Meanwhile the king left his palace, and fled along with his queens, each of the latter being carried in the arms of an attendant, as a nurse carries a child. They were veiled and wore taffetas of different colours, figured after the Chinese fashion. I was then laden with arms, and other things for the galleys, and being all wet, and in a sorry condition, the king said I was an honest man, and desired me to take courage, at the same time, using an expression indicative of praise. Tears filled my eyes to see him in such a condition: for he uttered loud lamentations at being forced to quit his island, and at beholding his queens conducted in this manner, and they also wept bitterly. The people were equally afflicted, and nothing was heard in the streets but wailings, and the cries of women and children.

At last the king entered the royal galley with his queens and his nephew, leaving most of his riches behind, and all his cannon, of which he had a great number in the island; for he had no time both to arm his people, and to carry them on board. He instantly set sail for the province of Squadon, towards the south, having left only the smallest galley, to try to carry off something more; and then I told my companions that it was necessary to think of saving ourselves. Therefore, I made still another expedition to the palace, with those of the island, always allowing them to load themselves first and go to the galley before me, when instead of following them, I gained the woods on the shore from one side, and two of my comrades from another; the third was obliged to embark, but the galley was soon taken. We were above four hours in the island with nobody excepting a few poor people.

The chief man of the hostile navy discovering the king's flight, sent eight galleys to pursue him, and other eight to the island: I gave myself up to the first that landed, praying them to save me. Ignorant that I was a Frenchman, and supposing me a Portuguese, they were about to put me to death; but, finding their mistake, I was more humanely treated. They conducted me to the captain, and thereafter on board the galleys for security, though only during this day and night, for in future I went about the island at pleasure.

The eight galleys having come up with the king, an engagement began, in which he was killed with a pike, his queens taken prisoners, and his nephew drowned in attempting to escape by swimming. Unfortunately a perfect calm prevailed, otherwise he would have outsailed the enemy.

But his hour was come, and God, in his mercy, took him away, that he might not behold, as I did; the pitiable condition to which his queens and his kingdom were reduced. None of the ordinary vessels belonging to the island were captured, and had he embarked in any of them he would have been saved. At the same time, there was no destruction of the people, for not above two or three lives were lost on the occasion.

After pillaging the royal galleys, the enemy brought the whole back, except two wrecked on the shoals, and the three queens along with them. These were lodged in a building also called the palace, surrounded by walls, but smaller than the king's, strictly guarded with soldiers, and threatened with being led into captivity unless they disclosed where the king had concealed his treasure. This they could not do, for no one knew any thing of it but his secretary, who had departed among the first. Each of the queens was then allowed a female attendant, and some of the late king's principal domestics appointed to wait on them. None of the natives were allowed to enter the palace; however, I was exempted from the prohibition, and frequently visited the queens, giving them my best advice and consolations. I told them also the cause of their confinement, reporting the words of the invaders, which they were particularly desirous of learning. They asked me, in tears, whether I did not regret the death of the king, who loved me so much, which I answered in the affirmative, saying, that since it had so happened, I now designed going away, for I had no longer any master to look up to in these islands; had he survived I should never have changed my abode. In truth, this was the furthest from my mind. I added that I should not depart without

taking leave of them, and following their admonitions, which they greatly approved; promising, in return, not to desert me. It excited my utmost compassion to see the reverse that befel these unfortunate queens. From being richly attired and magnificently accommodated, hardly more than their robes were left behind. Yet they suffered no indignities, nor did the other women of the island.

In a few days a bark arrived at Malé, demanding the hostile general's permission to carry away rice and other commodities, for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred in Gouradon, one of the islands, with as little ceremony as any of his subjects, though he had founded a splendid temple and cemetery for himself in Malé. The general granted whatever was required.

The principal inducement to this inimical enterprise was to obtain cannon, with five or six score of which the enemy loaded their ships. But they had great difficulty in getting such unwieldy pieces on board, nor did they understand the manner of mounting them. Thus, when I pointed out the proper method, and assisted them in the management of all the different parts, it proved a particular recommendation in my favour. A pilot belonging to the Maldives, who chiefly lived on the continent, had been bribed to conduct the fleet against his own king, although he had never given him any reason for complaint. Without his directions the expedition must inevitably have failed, as the islands are of such difficult access.

After the enemy had remained ten days in Malé, pillaging the country, and loading their ships with booty, they set sail, leaving the queens and the people at liberty. No prisoners were ta-

ken with them, excepting the brother of the chief queen and the king's brother-in-law, which, it appeared, was by his own consent, as he wished to visit the king of Cananor. I then bade farewell to the queens and my friends, and embarked also on the voyage, my three comrades being in three other ships.

Afterwards, while at Goa, I learnt that a civil war had broke out in the Maldives, owing to the king having left no children; and four inhabitants of the highest rank long contended concerning the succession. The chief queen's brother, assisted by the king of Cananor, established the lawful heir in the sovereignty, and restored the islands to peace.

The navigation from the Maldives is dangerous, owing to currents and calms, and the numerous shoals. We anchored at Malicut, a small island thirty-five leagues north of them, which formerly was under the same government, but given by one of the kings to his brother. It was now ruled by a queen, who received me graciously, and to whom I related the fate of the king of the Maldives, her near relation. Advancing on the voyage, we doubled the Point De Galle, in the island of Ceylon, near which we fell in with such a quantity of whales, as to render us apprehensive for the safety of our vessels. In a month from leaving the Maldives, we reached Chartican, a port in the kingdom of Bengal, where the inhabitants received us with great rejoicings.

From this quarter the expedition against the Maldives was undertaken, chiefly, as I have already observed, on account of the cannon belonging to the Corbin, and others like them. These were the finest and best made that ever went to

India, and the envy of many kings and princes of that continent.

I was conducted to the viceroy of the province where we landed, who granted me my full liberty: promising, if I would remain with him, to be of great service to me; and he actually supplied me with abundant provision, both of food and clothing. Having continued here a month, I found a vessel from Calicut, where Dutch ships often arrived; and I thought by that means of accomplishing my return to France. The master asked me to accompany him, which the viceroy willingly granted.

Bengal is a fertile country, and the climate is temperate. Provisions are so abundant, that living costs almost nothing. The men are well made, and the women handsome, but extremely immodest; more so indeed than in any other part of India. The inhabitants are addicted to traffic rather than to arms, and are of a mild and courteous disposition. Here there is a great river, called the Ganges, which is reputed sacred by the natives, who believe, that washing in it absolves them of all their sins. The source whence it springs has not hitherto been discovered, notwithstanding the kings of the country have been at much expence in endeavouring to ascertain it.

After being three weeks at sea in the Calicut vessel, we landed at Montingue, situated between Cananor and Calicut. I was never more astonished than to see so many people armed; for the whole inhabitants, as well Mahometans as idolaters, carry arms from the age of ten or twelve, but the lowest ranks bear none. I lodged in the house of one of the chief Malays, whom the king visited, where I and my companions were very

hospitably treated. The king questioned me a great deal about France, and inquired the difference between the English, Dutch, and French ; and concerning the power and grandeur of the king of France. He was desirous that we should remain with him, engaging to gratify us in all things.

Montingue is a receptacle for Malay pirates : the people are esteemed only for their bravery or wealth, whence most of them are seamen, soldiers, or merchants ; there are few slaves among them, and no one is obliged to go to war. They receive strangers well, and wish to encourage their residence among them.

Calicut being twelve leagues from Montingue, I resolved on going thither by land : but, on account of the good treatment which I met by the way, my journey lasted longer than necessary. The king sent for me and my conductors on our arrival ; and, by means of his interpreter, also interrogated me, during more than three hours, in the Portuguese language. He wished to know whether the prince of Orange, or the king of France was the more powerful ; and when I replied there was no comparison, he answered, that was just what the Dutch said in favour of the prince, and the Portuguese likewise of their king ; therefore, he could not tell whom to credit. He said thirteen Dutch vessels had been at Calicut three weeks or a month preceding, which he had permitted to trade : that the Dutch had presented him with two large cast cannon, taken from the Portuguese, and other gifts from the prince of Orange. In return, he had given them precious stones and gold chains, and also granted permission for their building a fort ; on which they engaged to return the following year.

Here we remained eight months, properly lodged and supplied by the king's command; and in that time I had an opportunity of making many observations.

Calicut is a beautiful and extensive city, above a league and a half from one extremity to the other, and five leagues in circumference; but in this space, gardens and some other enclosures are included. The houses are built without order or regularity, for there are no streets as in European towns; but one quarter, which is full of shops, is divided into streets, and enclosed by itself. There are many public fountains at some distance asunder, whither those of different religions resort.

The inhabitants are a mixture of different nations: those called Nairs being alone supposed the original natives of Malabar. They are all people of rank, and practise some remarkable customs. A man may have no more than one wife at a time, though a woman may have three husbands all at once. Thus, on account of the uncertainty of descent, children do not succeed the father; but a person's inheritance falls to his nephews by the sister's side.

Large ears, both in men and women, are considered a great ornament; therefore, artificial means are used to make them grow to an extraordinary size: sometimes the lobe is so much distended as to come below the shoulders.

A singular disease is known here, by which the feet and legs of both sexes grow as large as the body of an ordinary man. In some only one leg is affected, in others both. No pain attends this malady, nor is it always of an equal degree; neither has it any effect on the person. They have no physicians in the country, excepting those who

pretend to necromancy; and they are consulted on all occasions, as well with regard to the events of futurity, as the progress of disease.

Calicut is a powerful kingdom, well peopled, and of great extent; it is that which, most of all others, has opposed the progress of the Portuguese. The king is much beloved, feared, and obeyed, by his subjects, and dreaded by neighbouring states. The goodness of the climate enables the inhabitants to sow and reap twice a-year; and the country is delightful, abounding in fruits, and watered by beautiful streams. Elephants are found in it, which are trained both for war and carriage; and it is also inhabited by tigers, which the Nairs occupy themselves in hunting. Apes are numerous, because there is a prohibition against killing them, and they are extremely bold and mischievous; it is a kind of pastime among the natives, looking at their leaps from tree to tree. Going to the king's palace along with one of my comrades, we met three of the largest and ugliest apes I had ever beheld: they stood on their hind feet ten or twelve paces from us, grinning as if they designed an attack, and as we had neither sticks nor stones, we were a good deal alarmed; but, testifying no appearance of fear, we stooped down, feigning to lift stones, to throw at them, of which, however, there are none in that part of the country, when they took flight and climbed up the trees.

All religions are practised in Calicut. There were two Jesuit priests, one an Italian, and the other a Portuguese, who received a pension of an hundred crowns a-year from the king, which was of more value proportionally than five hundred to them. They had built a large and handsome church, with an enclosure and a sanctuary near

the sea shore. The king allowed them to make what converts they chose, provided no constraint was employed; but although they received myself and my comrades with sufficient civility, both he and all the people of Calicut dissuaded us from eating or drinking along with them, lest we should be poisoned. They also cautioned us against going abroad at night, lest the Portuguese might do us harm. The Jesuits had made a considerable number of converts, and all the Christians dwelt in a certain quarter.

The king frequently travels through his dominions, on which occasion he is always accompanied by 3000 men. He is mounted on an elephant, and his train constantly increases during the journey; until it sometimes amounts to 10,000 men in arms. His principal abode is at Calicut, where he has a well-built palace surrounded by walls, draw bridges, and a ditch full of water. The palace is a quarter of a league from the city; all the avenues to it are wonderfully beautiful, being planted with various trees.

Having long waited in vain for a Dutch vessel to carry us back to France, the Jesuits advised us to go to Cochin, and put ourselves in the hands of the Portuguese, as the only means of returning to our own country. To this effect they offered us letters of recommendation, that we might suffer no injury; believing all they said, we took the letters and prepared for the journey: The king told us that we had his permission either to go or to stay as we chose, and made us liberal promises if we would remain; but when he saw us determined to go, he supplied us with money and a passport, advising us, at the same time, to be careful of putting too much trust in the Portuguese.

Three of us, therefore, having made our final preparations, set off; the fourth, a Dutchman, refused to move from Calicut and put himself in the power of the Portuguese, as they had maltreated him on a former occasion. We had contracted with mariners to carry us to Cochin, twenty leagues from Calicut, who said they would sail at night when the tide was up. The day preceding they had shewed us the place of embarkation, and as it was a clear moonlight night, we went towards the spot where the vessel lay: this was in the end of February 1603. But when close to the place, as we supposed, we were suddenly surrounded by twenty Portuguese and others, well armed, who had lain in ambush; the Portuguese rushed forward, crying, *matar, matar, kill, kill*, and gave us several blows; our hands were bound behind our backs, and they held the point of a sword to our throats, threatening us with death if we spoke a single word. We knelt down, praying them to spare our lives till we had confessed ourselves, as we were Catholics; but we were, in return, reviled with the name of Lutherans. The agent in this enterprise was a Portuguese captain of Cochin, a cruel and wicked man, called Joan Furtado.

Next we were carried on board a vessel which was overloaded with people, and half full of water; so that we thought truly we should be drowned, and thus coasted along the shores of Calicut, to the territory of the king of Chaly, who was in alliance with the Portuguese. That same day, intelligence of our condition was known at Calicut, whereon the king, highly exasperated, sent for the Jesuit priests, and made them swear on their Bible, whether they knew any thing of the matter;

and he, besides, ordered a ship belonging to the captain lying there to be burnt, nor durst he ever return afterwards, as I learned at Goa.

At Chaly, we were taken a league and a half up the country, and carefully concealed. A Portuguese dress was likewise provided for us as a further disguise, although we now received assurances of suffering no injury; and next day we arrived at Cochin, where we were conducted before the governor for examination. Having asked us several questions, he remitted us to the criminal judge, who, after hearing our answers to his interrogations, affirmed we did come within his department, being prisoners of war. The governor then ordered us to be imprisoned until the first opportunity occurred, when we might be sent to Goa.

There is only one prison in Goa, and a shocking one it is. A trap door is opened, and the prisoners, placed on a board suspended by ropes, are lowered thirty or five-and-thirty-feet, by means of a windlass. The jailor introduces their allowance by a hole or window, grated with large iron bars, consisting of a triple grate, one in the middle of the wall, which is a foot and a half thick, another on the outside, and the third within. The provisions and other things for the prisoners are pushed in with a long shovel, like what is used in putting bread into an oven; the trap is closed at night, and the grating shut, which creates such poisonous air from the number of people, and filthiness of the place, that the human frame cannot resist its influence. A great iron chain is, besides, stretched from one end of the prison to the other, to which criminals are locked by the feet; and I

believe, on the whole, that it is the most horrible of the kind in the known world.

As the building is in form of a lofty tower, there are upper stages where those are lodged who can bribe the jailor, and the sick likewise, with permission of the judges. The first man we met was *Martin Dombé*, the Dutchman, who I have already said had lost his ship on the Maldives: he had long been here, of which he accused the Jesuits. We also found a gentleman who had visited Marseilles; he spoke good French, and inquired for M. de Guise, in whose service he had been there. He next asked whether we had any means of subsistence, and, on our informing him that we had not, he gave us a piece of gold, worth a croissade. This took place in the higher stages, and we were then lowered down below to the common prison, where there were six or seven score of people of all countries and descriptions.

There we remained nine or ten days, and had we been kept longer, I truly think we should have died; for our bodies were covered with painful biles and swellings, from the insupportable heat and infected air. By the advice of certain Portuguese prisoners, we wrote to the Jesuits of the college of Cochin, the superior of whom immediately came to visit us. Finding that we were Frenchmen and Catholics, he applied for our liberation to the governor, who said, he could not set us entirely at liberty, but that we should be sent to the viceroy at Goa. However, we were enlarged so far as respected the city, on condition of presenting ourselves whenever required; and in this place we remained six weeks pretty well treated.

About two months from our coming to Co-

chin, a Portuguese fleet of fifty vessels arrived to victual here as usual, in their voyage from Cape Comorin and Ceylon ; and on their preparing, five days after, to depart for Goa, we employed the Jesuits to accomplish our conveyance thither. The governor sent us to prison two days preceding our departure, when shackles, thirty or forty pounds weight, were put on our legs, in which condition we were taken on board. I suffered a thousand indignities: the weight of the irons restrained me from moving in the vessel, which was small ; and many of the people, of whom it was full, amidst their reproaches, assured me, that I should be hanged at Goa. Unfortunately, I had fallen into the hands of a cruel captain, *Pedro de Poderoso*, and his believing me to be a Dutchman, increased his severity ; for he had formerly been taken prisoner, and rigorously treated by the Dutch.

I met with an unlucky accident in this ship, for in boarding a large Malay vessel, part of the rigging came down, and falling upon me, while lying on the deck in irons, almost crushed me to death. With difficulty ten men could remove the rigging, and by a miracle I was not killed. I was stunned with the blow, and dreadfully bruised ; but a quantity of water thrown on me recalled my senses, when I was immediately bled, and a cataplasm applied to my back. Thus wounded, I was carried towards the head of the ship, where I lay constantly exposed to the wetting of the waves or the heat of the sun-beams. My back seemed broke, I suffered excruciating pain, and it was nearly a month before I was able to move. But my condition would have been still more deplorable, had not a Dominican monk, brother Manuel, his name should not be forgot, interested himself in my be-

half. On his solicitation to have the irons taken off, the captain allowed one of my legs to be unlocked : he supplied me with a white shift, a pillow, and other conveniences ; and carried provisions to me, sometimes fasting himself that I might be served.

Adverse winds retarded the voyage, which we should have accomplished in a few days ; whereas it now occupied three weeks, and we then arrived at Goa in the month of June. Still very ill of my wounds, I was carried on shore to the hospital, which is truly a royal, excellent, and magnificent place, where the rich and poor are attended to with equal care and humanity. The admiral of the fleet ordered the captain to take off my irons and send me to him ; but the captain informed him that it was more necessary to send me to the hospital, whither I and one of my companions, likewise sick, were carried by porters : for litters were not used. The third of our party was afterwards sent to the same place, though he was only indisposed with fatigue.

There we were placed under the care of a Jesuit priest, who was prohibited from allowing us to leave the hospital without advertising the admiral. Being extremely well treated, we considered ourselves already at liberty, and in twenty days I was so much recovered, that I told the Jesuit that I and one of my comrades wished to depart. But the good father was averse to our going : he encouraged us much, and endeavoured to promote our cure.

At last we were clothed and discharged, to the Jesuit's visible regret : our impatience to be liberated from imprisonment was so great, that we declined to stay and partake of breakfast, whereon

having received his benediction we bade him farewell. But while descending the stairs of the hospital, two serjeants rudely seized us and bound our hands. Our sorrow and astonishment may be easily conceived : to see ourselves delivered from an hospital to be led to a prison. The jailor, however, advised us not to be cast down, for he would not put us in the worst part of it, called the hall, where two or three hundred persons are sometimes confined at once, since we were Frenchmen and Catholics.

By the king of Portugal's command, all prisoners have an allowance for provisions, part of which they are deprived of by the officers, through whose hands it comes. Each prisoner must make an application for the allowance ; but nearly a month elapsed before ours could be obtained. We were so apprehensive of its being taken from us, that we gave it in keeping to the jailor's wife.

A Jesuit who visited the prison, having informed me that there was in the Jesuits college, dedicated to St Paul, at Goa, a Frenchman, called Estienne de St Croix, I wrote to him : he came to see me, supplied me with money, and engaged to try his utmost for my deliverance. However, the viceroy refused his applications, saying, that I had merited death from coming into the country contrary to the ordinances of his king, and the treaty between the kings of France and Spain ; but that he would send me prisoner to the king of Spain, to be treated as he thought fit. Nevertheless, the worthy priest persisted a whole month in his importunities, which were ultimately successful, and along with my comrades I once more obtained my liberty.

After our enlargement we enrolled ourselves as soldiers, and as such I remained two years at Goa,

receiving soldier's pay. I served in several Portuguese armies, chiefly in the island of Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and other islands in the Straits of Sunda; independent of serving in the quarter where Goa lies. The Portuguese carry on constant wars with the Cingalese, or inhabitants of Ceylon, though with great difficulty and danger, for the country is so overgrown with woods that they afford an ambush to the islanders, and every march must be preceded by pioneers. The Portuguese either kill their prisoners or make them slaves: the Cingalese act differently, for they cut the noses off the Portuguese, and then send them back.

After returning from Malacca, I wished to let winter elapse before sailing for Portugal. But in the mean time the viceroy thought proper to imprison me and my companions, as well as several Englishmen, under pretence that we were spies. Four or five of the Jesuits, among whom was Thomas Stephen, an Englishman, exerted themselves for our deliverance, which they attained when we had been three weeks in confinement. To our great satisfaction a new viceroy arrived in two months, who brought out an order to send away all foreigners, considering them in the light of spies. Thus we requested the Jesuits to obtain leave for our embarkation, and also an allowance of provisions, which was easily granted, owing to there being an express order to that purpose from the king of Spain, except as to the provisions. However, the viceroy having heard our story, acceded to our wishes.

Four Portuguese carracks sailed for Europe, in one of which, called *Our Lady of Jesus*, I embarked along with my comrades. In this vessel was an

immense quantity of merchandise, piled almost mid-mast high, so that there was hardly room to walk. There were eight hundred persons on board, including sixty Portuguese and Indian women. Two Cordeliers were also among the passengers, who had come clandestinely on board without liberty from their superior: they were afterwards put in confinement at Brazil, and then sent to Portugal. Whoever chooses may go out to India, but it is very different when he thinks of returning, particularly with regard to Jesuits and other monks, unless there be a good reason for it. The king provisions a vessel out, but nothing except biscuit is allowed on the return; whence we were astonished to see the prisoners receive bread and water only; and we ourselves were each allowed thirty pounds of biscuit a month, and a cask of water containing twenty four pints. What was worst of all, was this being exposed in an open place, which gave others an opportunity of stealing it by night, and besides it was wet by rain during the day.

In nine or ten days, a great alarm arose from three vessels coming in sight; we dreaded that they were Dutchmen, which created still greater terror in me and my comrades, as the Portuguese threatened in that event to throw us overboard. However, the vessels proved either to be from the Maldives or from Arabia, on a voyage to the Straits of Sunda.

On the 15th of March 1610, we experienced a frightful tempest, and were nearly driven on the island Diego Rodrigo. This tempest continued five days, when it ceased: the captain apprehensive of the weather in passing Natal and the Cape of Good Hope, ordered all the guns to be put

down in the hold, and then girt the vessel with cables, in three different places. We made the Cape of Good Hope on the 8th of April, but tried in vain to double it. Owing to having left Goa too late in the year, we arrived in those latitudes in the stormy season, on which account many disasters befel us. We sprung the main-yard twice, and rent the sails at least thirty times: three seamen were knocked down, and two slaves fell overboard. The ship strained so much, that two pumps, going night and day, were hardly sufficient to keep her free; and all hands, even the captain himself, stood to the pumps. Thus he and the principal merchants, considering the state of the vessel, and the situation in which they were placed, resolved on returning to India. This, on the other hand, was opposed by the chief pilots, the seamen, and others, affirming, that the ship was not able to weather the storms incessantly prevailing on the coast of Natal; and at length, after beating about fully two months, we doubled the Cape. Still danger pursued us, for, being in the immediate vicinity of the land, a calm ensued, and the ship drifted towards the shore. The savages stood in expectation of our wreck, and we ourselves prepared arms to defend us. Happily a slight breeze sprung up and enabled us to work off. It is unusual for vessels to be here at this season: to return to India was impossible, and we should infallibly have been cast away had not the favourable wind arose.

A council was now held to determine whether the voyage should be continued straight for Portugal, or whether it would not be better to make St Helena, to obtain provisions and refit the ship. On resolving the latter, the guns, forty in number, were

remounted, as the Dutch might be there: however, we were disappointed; and found none of them.

The ship run ashore at St Helena, but was got off again without any damage, except that she made much more water than formerly; notwithstanding which, we ventured to run for the bay of All Saints, in Brazil, 550 leagues distant. On the 8th of August we came in sight of the land; and next day anchored four leagues north of the bay, to lie for a pilot, who to our great joy arrived. We had already been six months on the voyage from Goa.

On the 11th, thinking the ship rode insecurely, we weighed anchor and stood farther into the bay, when she unfortunately ran aground on a sand bank: the main-mast was cut away, and every means adopted to lighten her. Thirty or forty barks immediately surrounded her to receive her cargo and the people, and after being lightened of the former, she began to float, and was brought within cannon-shot of the shore. The damage she had suffered on this and other occasions, rendered her unfit for farther service.

We remained two months in Brazil, always anxious to procure a passage to Portugal: at length, three gentlemen, passengers in the ship from India, freighted a vessel here to carry them and their property to Portugal, in which they offered to carry me; but a dispute arising between them and the viceroy, he refused to let me go.

This was my good fortune in the end, for I afterwards understood that these three gentlemen were captured by pirates and conveyed to Barbary.

I obtained a passage in another vessel for my service as a seaman, though without wages, and left the bay along with my two comrades, on the 7th of Oct. 1610. Adverse winds prevailed, which

retarded us from approaching near Lisbon, until the 15th of January 1611. A foul wind then prevented our entering the river, and next a storm arose which forced us to bear away for the Spanish coast. In the course of it, we were often in imminent danger, so imminent, that a rich merchant on board made a vow of 800 croisades, 400 as a marriage portion to an orphan, and 400 to provide utensils for the church of our lady near Bayonne; happily we reached Bayonne, and there he fulfilled his vow. For my part, I had made a vow to pay my devotions at the church of St Jago, in Gallicia, about ten leagues distant, which also having fulfilled, I repaired to Corunna, ten leagues more, in hopes of a passage to France.

In this I was unsuccessful; but hearing there was a small bark belonging to Rochelle at a port in the vicinity, I journeyed thither, and was taken on board. On the 6th day of February 1611, I set my foot on French ground at Rochelle, and on the 16th of the same month arrived in my native town of Laval, in Brittany, for which God be praised.

The precise number, extent, and position of the Maldive islands are as yet imperfectly ascertained, nor have modern navigators added much to the observations of Pyrrard. These islands consist of a long chain, divided into thirteen or seventeen principal clusters, which stretch from $7^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude, to $38'$ south of the line; the easternmost part lies in $73^{\circ} 8'$ east longitude; and their greatest breadth is from 20 to 24 leagues. Strong currents run among the islands, and there are whirlpools in the channels between them, from the effects of which combined dangers, other vessels have shared the fate of the Corbin. Few places can, therefore, be

approached without extreme caution. The chief island where the king resides, is called *Malé*, and as *Dives* signifies a group of islands, their name is thence derived.

Not long ago a trade was carried on by the Europeans settled in India, with the principal island, but of late it has been discontinued, though the Maldivians still carry the produce of their country to Bengal, in fleets of large boats which arrive there annually.

The natives, among other superstitions, carefully preserve the parings of their nails, and clippings of their hair, to be buried along with them at their decease; but they entertain such repugnance at their hair or beards touching their food, that, on finding a hair in a dish, they have been seen to throw the whole away. They yet bestow uncommon pains in preserving and perfuming their hair; men of the higher ranks only are permitted to wear it long; but there is not the same restriction on women.

WRECK OF THE SEA VENTURE,

AN ENGLISH VESSEL, ON THE BERMUDA ISLANDS,
1609 *.

THE following account of a shipwreck, less interesting from concomitant calamities than from the turbulence of the crew and its ultimate consequences, is contained in a letter from one of those whose safety was endangered. Though we are unacquainted with his peculiar capacity on occasion of the voyage, both his experience and intelligence are sufficiently conspicuous.

“Late on Friday evening, the second of June, our fleet, consisting of seven good ships and two pinnaces, weighed anchor from Plymouth Sound, and kept company until the 23d of July. We were, by reckoning, within seven or eight days sail of Cape Henry, on the coast of Virginia, when the night of Sunday seemed to announce a storm. On Monday, July the 24th, St James’s day, the clouds began to thicken around, and the whistling of the wind, unlike what is usually heard, induced us to cast off our pinnace, hitherto towed astern. A dreadful storm commenced from the north-east, which, swel-

* The original of this narrative is contained in the Fourth Volume of *Purchas’s Pilgrimes*. v. 1734.

ling and roaring, as it were by fits, was some hours more violent than at others, and at length seemed to extinguish all the light of Heaven, and leave utter darkness. The blackness of the sky, and the howling of the winds, were such as to inspire the boldest of our men with terror, for the dread of death is always more terrible at sea, as no situation is so entirely destitute of comfort or relief, as one of danger there.

The storm continued four-and-twenty hours without intermission, and blowing with violence so great that we could not conceive it possible to admit of any augmentation. But we found it only more severe and unabating, and appearing as if one followed another in succession, always with redoubled fury. It is impossible to express the noise and outcries that were heard: and if there were prayers in the heart and on the lips, they were drowned in the clamours of the people, and roaring of the thunder. Our sails were close clewed up; if we shewed only a reefed foresail to guide the vessel, six, and sometimes eight men, were not enough to steer her, which may partly indicate the strength of the gale, in a manner swelling the sea above the clouds. It did not rain, but poured; and the winds seemed to grow more loud and tumultuous always as the sheets of water fell.

I had been out in storms before on the coast of Barbary, Algiers, and in the Levant, and once in greater extremity in a Candian ship on the Adriatic, yet all that I ever experienced, put together, was not equivalent to this; for the sudden parting or oversetting of the vessel was what I every moment expected. Nor was this all, for a dangerous leak sprung in the beginning of the storm. Be-

fore we were aware, the ship had discharged the oakum from all her seams ; which is more hazardous than any other casualty at sea, and the water rose five feet above her ballast, so that we were almost drowned within, when expecting destruction from without. This created indescribable alarm : the most hardy mariner was appalled with the prospect of speedy death, unless the evil could be remedied ; and he who, buoyed up with fortune, never before felt the sorrows of others, now began to grieve for himself. All were busily occupied in searching out the cause of the disaster ; with candles in their hands they crept about the ribs of the ship, narrowly inspecting every corner, and, at the same time, listening attentively to discover the place where the water entered. Many leaks were thus found, and hastily stopped ; but the principal one could not be discovered. Though the pumps were kept constantly going, the water still rose ; but, from the quantities of bread brought up, the leak was conjectured to be in the bread-room, where the carpenter made a search equally unsuccessful as elsewhere.

I cannot describe the perplexity which this occasioned : I had little hope or desire of life during the storm, nor can I tell why we laboured so hard to preserve it. Surely it was either because a few lingering hours are so dear to mankind, or because we are taught by nature and Christian knowledge to struggle for self-preservation.

The leak was at length discovered in the hold, on Tuesday morning, when our governor divided the whole people, being one hundred and forty men, besides women, into three portions ; and, opening the ship in three places, under the forecastle, in the waste, and close by the bittack, appointed

each man to his duty. All came regularly to the pumps and buckets for one hour, and rested the next. I may well say that men were seen to labour for life; and the highest among us, even the governor and admiral themselves, took their turn, to give an example to the rest. The others stripped themselves naked like galley-slaves, the better to resist the effects of the salt water, by which they were continually drenched, and thus toiled three whole days and four nights. All this time they were destitute of any external comfort, and despairing of deliverance, yet testifying how willing they were to make the greatest exertions, though almost drowning amidst them.

Once such an immense sea broke over us, that it covered the ship from stem to stern, as if with a sheet of water. For a time it filled her brim full within, from the hatches up to the spar-deck. The force of the water dashed the man from the helm, forcing the tiller out of his hand; and, on his attempting to recover it, he was tossed from starboard to larboard, in such a manner that it was wonderful he was not killed. Being driven from his post, another man took it, who gave up the ship for lost, and called on his comrades for assistance: The governor was then below at the capstan, encouraging the men to labour;—the wave struck him from his seat, and other three persons, the whole who were around him, down on their faces. Although the ship was going nine or ten leagues in a watch, without a rag of sail, her course was checked, and the vehemence of the shock interrupted her. Fortunately, amidst so many calamities, every passenger was able to assist and relieve the men; and those who had never known, their

whole lives, what it was to work, now toiled four successive days equally with the strongest.

During this interval the heavens were so much overcast, that it was impossible to make an observation ; for neither was the sun to be seen by day, nor the stars by night. Our admiral, Sir George Summers, being on the watch on Thursday night, observed a little round light, like a faint tremulous star, streaming along, and sparkling with a blaze, sometimes shooting from shroud to shroud, and appearing as if about to settle on some of the fore shrouds, at half the height of the main-mast. For half the night it kept with us, frequently running along the main-yard to the very end, and then returning ; but, towards the morning watch, Sir George, and those around him, by whom it was carefully observed, lost sight of it, and knew not which way it had gone.

The superstitious sailors form many presages from this sea-fire, which, nevertheless, is common in all storms. Perhaps it is the same which the Greeks in the Mediterranean called Castor and Pollux. If only one light appeared without another, they considered it an evil omen of a great tempest. The Italians, and others on the Adriatic, call it *A Sacred Body*, the Spaniards *St Elmo*, and have an authentic and miraculous legend concerning it. Be what it will, we had other prospects of safety or destruction than in its rising or falling ; could it now have enabled us to take an altitude, we should have been disposed to consider it miraculous.

But we ran like men hoodwinked, sometimes north, north-east, north and by west, and in an instant again varying two or three points, and even half the compass. However, we endeavoured as

much as possible to steer east and by south, which was not easy to do, though the ship was greatly lightened by throwing many articles over, and staving many casks of beer, oil, cyder, wine, and vinegar. All our ordnance was hove over the starboard side, and we proposed to cut away the main-mast to lighten her still more. Our men were now exhausted, their strength and their spirits failed, for they had laboured from Tuesday to Friday morning, both day and night, without either sleep or food. The leakage filling the hold, prevented us from getting at beer or fresh water, nor could fire be lighted in the cook-room to dress any meat, while our turn at the pumps and buckets, added to grief and apprehension, were enough to banish sleep from our eyes.

The quantity of water discharged from the ship was truly surprising. During all those days, there was not an hour in which twelve hundred buckets, each containing six or eight gallons, were not emptied. We had three deep pumps continually going; two below at the capstan, and one above on the half-deck, and each pump gave at least four thousand strokes in a watch. Therefore, I may justly affirm, that one hundred tons of water were thrown out every hour; and that from Tuesday noon, until Friday noon, we discharged two thousand tons; yet, notwithstanding our utmost exertions, the ship had ten feet water in the hold, after the second watch on Tuesday night, and had we ceased a single watch she would have sunk. On Friday, the fourth morning, little was wanting to make us determine on shutting up the hatches, and committing the vessel to the mercy of the sea, and surely that night would have been our last; but happily, when least in expectation of

it, Sir George Summers discovered, and cried out, *land*. The morning, now partly spent, was somewhat clearer than the preceding days; and, on steadily looking out, trees were seen on shore moving with the wind.

The governor ordered the helmsman to bear up; and the boatswain sounding first found thirteen fathom water, and immediately afterwards struck the ground at seven fathom, by which time we had got within a mile of the land, under a point to the south-east, and in water a little smoother. But having no hopes of being able to save the ship by coming to an anchor, we were under the necessity of running on shore as near the land as we could. Therefore, she grounded within three quarters of a mile of it, when, getting out our boats, by the mercy of God we landed all the men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and fifty.

We now found that we had reached a dangerous and dreaded island, or rather islands, called the Bermudas, considered terrible by all who have touched at them; and from the dreadful tempests, thunders, and other alarming events prevailing, are commonly named the *Devil's Islands*. Owing to such dangers, navigators anxiously avoid them.

They are broken islands, to the number of five hundred, like an archipelago, small, though of irregular size, some being larger than others, according as time and the sea have formed a passage through them. All lie in the figure of a crescent, within the circuit of six or seven leagues at most; but it is said that they formerly extended fourteen leagues in length. Sir George Summers, who carefully coasted the whole in his boat, as-

certained their present extent. Oviedo, in his History of the West Indies, addressed to the Emperor Charles V., thus expresses himself: "In the year 1515, when I first came to inform your majesty of the state of things in India, I observed, that, in my voyage when to windward of the island of Bermudas, otherwise called Gorza, being the most remote of all the islands yet found in the world, I determined to send some of the people ashore, both to search for what might be there, and to leave certain hogs upon it to propagate. But, on account of a contrary wind, I could not bring the ship nearer than cannon shot. The island was twelve leagues in length, sixteen in breadth, and about thirty in circuit." The main-land, or largest of them, may now be about sixteen miles in length.

These islands are often visited with great tempests, attended with thunder, lightning, and rain, of excessive violence, which have so severed and torn down the rocks, and hurried whole quarters of islands into the main sea, some as far as six or seven leagues, that there is no small danger among them; and it is likely that in time the whole will be swallowed up. Dreadful storms rage there generally once in the full and change of every moon, when they rather thunder than blow from every quarter. They chiefly prevail while the circle called a halo is seen about the moon, which frequently appeared of immense diameter and breadth: nor have I seen it one-fourth of the size elsewhere. About the twentieth of March, I observed the largest in the evening, followed by the brightest flash of lightning and loudest clap of thunder, that ever, I believe, astonished mortal man.*

In August, September, and October, we had hot weather, and in the beginning of December quantities of hail: the weather is winter or summer there, according to the winds that blow. During the three winter months, December, January, and February, the winds kept at north and north-west, which were cold quarters, and then it was very dreary and melancholy; they were not more rough in March when the birds breed, and indeed I think that they breed there most months of the year; for in September and at Christmas I saw young birds.

The sea is so full of breakers, that it is impossible, without being acquainted with the navigation, to bring in a boat of only ten tons burden, though there are many harbours where the largest vessels may safely ride landlocked. There is only one side which a vessel may approach with any hope of safety, and on that we were fortunately cast, otherwise not one of us would have got ashore, in the state of the weather that then prevailed.

There are no level ground, valleys, or fresh rivers in the island, neither did we see any venomous animals. Different species of fruits are found, and some high and sweet-smelling woods, of various colours, black, yellow, and red. The shores are plentifully stored with fish, five thousand of which, I may venture to say, were taken at one haul of the seine. I need not describe the number of whales we have seen close to the shore, sometimes followed by the sword-fish and thrasher, to our great amusement; the former of which would pierce the whale in the belly with its sword, when lying in the sea, and when escaping upwards,

from the pain of its wounds, the thrasher would beat it above water with its large fins like flails.

There were great numbers of birds, some very tame, and among them a kind of web-footed fowl, like a green plover or sea-gull, which was not seen all summer, but only in the nights of November and December when it comes abroad to feed. Flocks collecting together, breed in the islands so far in the sea, that the wild hogs cannot swim over to them, and they burrow in the ground like rabbits in a warren, though not so deep. With a fire-brand, in a dark night, we have taken three hundred in an hour.

If the men standing by the beach made a great shouting and noise, the birds would flock around, answering it, and settle on their heads and arms. They are so numerous in some islands, that a boat's crew could bring home sufficient to serve the whole company from their burrows. From their hooting and blindness through the day, we called them the sea-owl.

Thousands of wild hogs are also in the island, which were first discovered by a huge wild boar following our swine that had been saved from the wreck, when they returned home from straying in the woods. This animal was caught in a noose; but afterwards, when our more important concerns admitted it, the people, with the ship dog only, would go into the woods and bring us thirty, or even fifty boars, swine, and pigs, alive in a week: these were seized and held by the dog until the hunters came up. We kept them in good condition, by feeding, and they were killed when turtle could not be procured on account of bad weather. Turtle was greatly relished by our company; one would go farther than half a dozen hogs, and feast

a dozen of messes well, allowing six to each mess. It is such a kind of meat as a man can neither absolutely call fish nor flesh; the animal keeps chiefly in water, feeding on sea-grass like a heifer, in the bottom of the coves and bays, and the females lay their eggs, of which we found five hundred at a time on opening a she turtle, in the sand of the shore. They are there covered close up, and left to be hatched by the sun.

Being a little settled after landing, we constructed our long-boat like a pinnace, so far as the place and conveniencies would admit, fitting her with a small deck formed of the hatches of our wrecked ship. We then gave her six oars, and sails, and entreated Henry Ravens, our master's mate, to make a voyage to Virginia, which, from reckoning, we conceived to be one hundred and forty leagues distant. He accordingly departed from Gates Bay, on Monday 28th August, along with six seamen, and Thomas Whittingham, our Cape merchant; but, to our great surprise, returned on the night of the following Wednesday, being unable to clear the island on account of shoals and breakers; notwithstanding the boat drew only twenty inches of water.

On Friday, the first of September, he again put to sea, promising, if he lived, and arrived in Virginia, to return the next new moon with the pinnace belonging to the colony. Instructions were given here to preserve a careful watch, and light up fires prepared as beacons to guide him in. But two moons passed away, and many a long and anxious look was cast in vain for his return.

During the mate's absence, Sir George Summers coasted the whole islands, and drew a map of them, and daily fished and hunted for our

whole company, until the 27th of November; then satisfied that we were not likely to hear from Virginia; and, apprehending that a pinnace, building by Richard Frobisher, our carpenter, would not be of sufficient burthen to transport all our men thither, especially considering the season of the year, he proposed that the governor should give him two carpenters of the four we had; such as they were, whom he would take, along with twenty men, over to the main island: there he should quickly fit up another little bark to assist the first in transporting the people.

The governor readily granted all he required; and Sir George, having got spare tools and other things requisite, carried twenty of the stoutest men with him, by whose assistance he completed a small vessel as soon as ours.

Méantime that we also laboured at the construction of a pinnace, the governor's example animated the rest to diligence and exertion. Had it not been for his qualifications, and proper exercise of authority, most of us would have spent our days in the island.

Unhappily, however, dangerous and secret discontents, chiefly commencing with the seamen, but gradually spreading among the landsmen also, began to be fomented, and threatened to be productive of blood and mischief. The principal source of disquiet arose from representations, "that nothing but wretchedness and labour, attended with many wants, were to be expected in Virginia; that the same abundance of provisions which could here be obtained without watching, and consumed without wasting, could not be found there; and at the one place there would be harsh command,

while in the other were ease and enjoyment. Besides, since they were, for a certain time, to be absent, both from their friends and country, it was as good, nay better, to take up their abode where they should have the fewest external wants."

These sentiments, preached and published by the people to each other, though by those who had never seen Virginia, created such murmurs, discontent, and dissension, that, instead of forwarding that labour which was to be the means of our redemption, every one wrought on his neighbour to seduce him from his duty.

On the first of September, a conspiracy was discovered, in which there were six ringleaders, who had made a mutual engagement, not so set their hands to any operation which might further or advance the building of the pinnacle. Each had, according to his engagement, separately endeavoured to seduce the smith from his work, and also one of the carpenters, Nicolas Bennet, a man who made great professions of Scripture, but a mutinous and dissembling impostor. Their object was to persuade the people to make a settlement in the woods in the meantime, and afterwards, leaving our island, to occupy another by themselves. But their intentions being discovered, they were condemned, though without smith or carpenter, to that same punishment which they themselves had chosen; for they were conducted to an island far remote from others and left upon it.

The names of these seditious persons were John Want, the ringleader of the whole, who was both mutinous, and a sectary in point of religion, very devout and frequent in his own prayers, but hardly drawn to those performed in public, whence

he was often compelled to the common liturgy and form of prayer ; and his confederates were Christopher Carter, Francis Pierrepont, William Brian, William Martin, and Richard Knowles.

But they soon missed their comforts ; besides the society of their acquaintances, if it did not create repentance in some of them, at least excited regret that their numbers were so small, and sorrow at their proscription. Thus, on many humble petitions being sent to the governor, full of apparent contrition, he was induced to remit their punishment.

Yet could not this be a warning to others, who began more insidiously to shake the foundations of our peace and tranquillity. Stephen Hopkins, a fellow of considerable knowledge in the Scriptures, who had been chosen by our minister as clerk, to read the psalms and chapters on Sundays, to the people assembled, leagued, with Samuel Sharp and Humphrey Reed, on the 24th of January, alleging, by arguments both civil and divine, that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, or religion, to decline the authority of the governor. He urged, that, in point of conscience, even the meanest must be sensible how much each was bound to provide for himself and his whole family, whence there were two evident reasons for remaining here : first, by God's providence, abundance of food ; secondly, the prospect that, in a reasonable time, they might grow weary of it, and then build a small bark with the help of Nicolas Bennet, who, although now absent assisting Sir George Summers, they insinuated was of the conspiracy. By such means they might get free of this country when they pleased ; but if they went to Virginia, they should assuredly want provisions, and might well apprehend that they would be detained there, by the au-

thority of the commander, and thenceforth ever be bound to serve the purposes of the adventurers.

Sharp and Reed, however, disclosed the conspiracy, on which the governor ordered Hopkins to be seized and brought out in irons before the whole people ; where, after hearing his accusation, he was allowed to plead an exculpation to every particular fact laid to his charge. It was proved, nevertheless, that he was the ringleader and promoter of the mutiny ; and the general opinion was, that his life should atone for the offence : therefore the governor, by a court martial, sentenced him to that punishment which rebellion deserves. But he behaved with such penitence, made so much lamentation, and so pathetically deplored the ruin of his wife and children, which would be the consequence of his trespass, that compassion was excited in all the higher orders of our company. Thus they repaired to the governor and besought him to pardon the culprit, which, after much entreaty, he consented to do.

Though we had escaped the calamities of the sea, and now enjoyed so many blessings on shore, it may easily be conceived to what extremity such dangers and disquiets would have reduced us, had we wanted a governor capable of suppressing them.

Another conspiracy was again formed, in which even his life was threatened. Those at the bottom of it presumed to suppose, that he neither had authority to inflict the punishment that offences required, nor durst put his sentence in execution ; and they went so far as to persuade themselves, that if they should be surprised before their plans were ripe, they should then suffer as martyrs.

The intent of these mutineers was to make

themselves masters of the storehouse, and to carry from it either provisions, arms, sails, and oars, or whatever else had been saved from the wreck of the ship. But as lawless and inconsiderate attempts are in general imperfectly framed, both from the nature of the precautions used to prevent discovery, and from the ignorance of the contrivers themselves, we were apprised of the views of the conspirators.

Some of those engaged in the plot, seceded from their confederates, disclosed its principles, and the names of all who were to be actors. Thenceforth every man was commanded to wear his weapon, and advised to be on his guard, because while his next neighbour could not be trusted, his own life was not in safety. This we were induced to do, from the associates in the new conspiracy being dispersed in different parts, some with ourselves, but the principal promoters absent with Sir George Sumner; indeed his whole detachment were involved in it. Thence being unable to apprehend the prime agents, we kept a strict watch over them.

The sentinels and night-guards were doubled, and all the avenues carefully overlooked, by which means further attempts were repressed until the thirteenth of March, that one Henry Paine, a gentleman, who, full of mischief, and hourly devising something or other, abstracted swords, tools, and the like, to suit his own evil ends. On being called by the captain to attend the night-watch in his turn, he not only insulted but struck him; and on being prevented from closing with him, abandoned his post with contumelious expressions respecting the governor. These words, after becoming the subject of common conversation, were reported to the governor, who considered them, and his whole

conduct, of the most dangerous example and tendency. Therefore, having summoned Paine, who was already one of the conspirators, to his presence, and convicted him before the whole colony, he condemned him to be instantly hanged. After the ladder was prepared, the culprit, having made many confessions, earnestly requested that, as he was a gentleman, he might be shot : which request being granted, he was put to death at sun-set.

The bark, on which Sir George Summers was engaged, was now in considerable forwardness, and as we supposed would soon meet ours at a fresh-water lake, where both were to be moored until being completely rigged, and wind serving, we should set sail together. On the 18th of March, his party hearing of Paines death, apprehended he had impeached them, and by general consent forsook their labour to escape into the woods. But their apprehensions were unfounded, for he had kept their secret. It was supposed also, that they conceived they should enrich themselves by fishing pearls, which are found in these seas in as great abundance as in any of the Indian islands, though neglected by other nations, on account of the dangers of the place. Whatever it was, they sent an audacious petition to the governor, not only asking his permission to remain where they were, but importuning him to perform other conditions, and, in particular, not to evade his own promises, to furnish each man with two suits of apparel yearly, and contribute as much meat for a whole year at once, as they now had weekly.

The governor immediately on this desired Sir George Summers to make particular exertions, in reclaiming the people to their duty, and promised

them a free pardon, on acknowledgement of their error.

Sir George succeeded in persuading the whole, excepting two, to return. But these, whose names were Christopher Carter and Robert Waters, remained refractory, and, knowing that Sir George had commanded his men to seize them by force, since persuasion failed, grew so cautious and wary, that they avoided their own comrades, and he was under the necessity of leaving them behind. Waters was a sailor, who, on our first coming to the island, murdered one of his messmates.

Our pinnace was now far advanced : On the 28th of August we had laid her keel, and now, on the 26th of February, we began to caulk. A sufficient quantity of oakum was procured from old cables ; one barrel of tar and another of pitch had been preserved. We likewise breamed her over with lime made of whelk shells, and a hard white stone burnt in a kiln, slaked with fresh water, and tempered with tortoise's oil. On the 13th of March she was towed out, with the morning spring-tide, from the wharf where she was built. The safety of the pinnace had been endangered, from all the shores and piles supporting her frame being nearly carried away by a heavy surf from the north-west, while she was hardly put together. We saved her with very great difficulty ; and afterwards built a solid bulwark of an hundred load of stones, brought from the neighbouring rocks and hills, around her, pointed before to break the force of the water. To be nearer some ponds and wells of fresh water, and also to get more easily to sea, we carried her to a small round island immediately behind the one of our own residence.

The pinnace was forty feet in keel, and nineteen

feet broad in the beam, and chiefly built of cedar ; though, being false in the heart and brittle, it is bad for shipping, as it will not cut into good planks. Her beams were all of oak, saved from the wreck, and some planks of her bow also of the same timber. She was about eighty tons burden, and we named her the Deliverance.

During the whole period of our residence in these islands, two sermons were preached every Sunday by the chaplain, chiefly on thankfulness and unity ; and all repaired to prayer each morning and evening besides, on the ringing of a bell. The roll was then called, and those absenting themselves punished. In the course of that time there was an opportunity of performing both baptism and marriage.

Five of the ship's company were buried, one of whom had been murdered by Robert Waters : he was struck under the ear with a shovel, which proved fatal. But the perpetrator was immediately seized, and condemned to be hanged next day. He was therefore bound fast to a tree with ropes, to secure him all night, and a guard of five or six men appointed to watch him. His fellow sailors, however, availing themselves of the sentinels falling asleep, and, unwilling that justice should be done on a sailor, and one of their crew be punished as an example to others, cut his bonds asunder, and conducted him into the woods. There they secretly fed him night and day, until the governor, through the mediation of Sir George Summers, afterwards gave him a respite.

Before quitting our old quarters, and carrying the pinnace to the fresh water, our governor fixed a cross, made of the wood of the wreck, to a great cedar tree, in memory of our deliverance. A sil-

ver coin, with the king's head, was placed in the middle of it, and an inscription engraven on copper put up, purporting what had happened:—"That the cross was the remains of a ship of 300 tons, called the Sea Venture, bound, with seven more, to Virginia: That she contained two knights, Sir Thomas Gates, governor of the colony, and Sir George Summers, admiral of the seas, who, together with her Captain, Christopher Newport, and 150 mariners, and passengers besides, had got safe ashore, when she was lost, 28th July 1609."

Sir George Summers brought his pinnace, called the *Patience*, to the main island, about the last of April. She was of nine-and-twenty feet keel, fifteen and a half in the beam, and drew six feet water. Early on the tenth of May, Sir George Summers and Captain Newport put off in their long boats, to set buoys in the channel through which we should pass, for the distance from rocks on the one side and shoals on the other, was only three times the length of the pinnace. On that day, about ten in the morning, we set sail with an easy breeze at south, the long-boat having the pinnace in tow; yet, just on reaching a buoy, we struck a rock to starboard, over which it floated; and had it not been a soft rock, which the vessel bore before her and crushed to pieces, I think, after all our ten months labour, we should have been obliged to return. But, while we all stood confounded, the coxswain, Walsingham, with great spirit, bore the vessel out in three and a half fathom water. That and the next day the wind was fair, which enabled us, to our great joy, to get clear of the islands. During seven days we held a northerly course, the wind sometimes fair, and

sometimes faint and adverse: in which run we twice parted company with Sir George Summers, though still dispensing with our main-top-sail and our fore-course also.

We knew that we were not far from land on the 17th of May, from the water changing colour, and things swimming past the vessel; and, sounding on the 18th with the deep sea lead, we found nineteen fathom and a half water, with a stony sandy bottom. About midnight we were sensible of a charming odour from the land, resembling that from the coast of Spain near the Straits of Gibraltar; and, in the morning at day-break, descried two hummocks to the southward, from which the land stretched northward to Cape Henry.

On the morning of Monday the 21st, we came within two miles of Cape Comfort, when the captain of the fort discharged a warning-piece, which brought us to an anchor, and we sent off our long-boat to inform him who we were. This is a small fortification built by our people last year, and called Fort Algernon by Captain Percy, the commander. On the same day of our arrival there was a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain.

We now learnt that most of the fleet bound from England for Virginia, arrived in safety; but we could obtain no intelligence of the boat which we had sent from the Bermudas. However, from what we collected from the savages, particularly Powhatan, an Indian chief, we conjectured that her crew had missed the landing point, and, being surprised, were all cut off.

The colony was in a distressed condition; the buildings going to waste, and the scarcity of provisions daily increasing. In a short time, hardly

sixty of six hundred survived ; and it was at length deemed expedient to evacuate the settlement. Indiscretion in the management, added to the bad conduct of the colonists, produced these evils : to which may be added the jealousy of the natives, and the unexpected failure of commodities, that were expected to be easily obtained. Of this latter description was fish, which, instead of being abundant, could by no means be procured.

All the arms, stores, and people, were therefore embarked in vessels, which set sail on the 7th ; but next afternoon, unexpectedly falling in with Lord Delaware, who had been sent from England to take the government, the intentions of the colonists were altered, and the settlement established anew."

The Bermuda Islands first received their name from a Spaniard, John de Bermudas, by whom they were seen in the year 1503. But, from the preceding incidents, the English have called them *Somers' Islands*, frequently corrupted to the Summer Islands.

Sir George Somers, some time after arriving in Virginia, returned thither in quest of provisions, where he died, and a monument in commemoration of him, was, in 1619, erected in one of the islands, by future settlers.

As the Bermuda Islands presented inviting prospects for the success of a colony, it was not long subsequent to the shipwreck, above-narrated, that the English found it expedient to establish themselves there. In 1725, George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, proposed erecting a seminary on some of these islands, both for the instruction of youth and the propagation of Christianity among the savage

American tribes. Accordingly, a royal charter was granted, and L. 20,000 devoted to its use by the British government; but, after Bishop Berkeley, then Dean of Kerry, had passed over to America with the design of putting his benevolent purpose in execution, certain circumstances rendered it abortive. The Bermuda Islands now form part of our West India possessions; but, from their limited extent, and the prevalence of violent hurricanes, are not very productive.

DESTRUCTION OF THE NEW HORN,

BY FIRE, 1619.

WE owe the following narrative, of the destruction of the New Horn, to her commander, William Ysbrants Bontekoe, a Dutchman, one of the survivors of the awful catastrophe *. Perhaps the most terrific shape in which shipwreck can appear is fire ; where the unfortunate victims have no alternative but seeking death in one element to avoid it in another. Their difficulties are augmented by the suddenness with which this calamity is almost invariably attended, and the unusual consternation which it disseminates.

“ I sailed from the Texel, as captain of the New Horn, a vessel of 1100 tons burden, with a company of 206 men, on the 28th of December 1618. On the evening of the 30th, we were in sight of

* Some obscurity attends the original account of this shipwreck, which has been considered so interesting as to obtain it a place in several collections. The copy used here is entitled, *Le Voyage de Guillaume Ysbrants Bontekoe aux Indes Orientales, ou les romps de Vent, dont il s'est servi dans les routes qu'il a tenues sont decrits par Journal.* Amsterdam, 1681. It is there said, that the voyage had passed through many editions ; and that it was always in request. In the more common copies numerous inconsistencies appear, which do not seem to belong to the original.

Portsmouth, and passed Plymouth on the following day, with an east wind. On the first of January, 1619, we left the English coast; and a strong gale rising from the south-west on the 4th, obliged us to lower our topmasts; but the night proving still more stormy, we reduced all sail and drove before the wind. Three heavy seas broke over the vessel, covering the deck with water, and the sailors, in their dread, exclaimed, "We are sinking, we are sinking, the ports before are open." Hearing these words, I ran to the fore-castle, where, finding the ports down, I encouraged them, by crying aloud they had nothing to fear: and a man who had been sent below to the hold, reported that there was no water there. Speedy exertions were made to clear the ship of water; but the chief source of embarrassment arose from the seamens' chests floating between decks, which it was necessary to break in pieces to facilitate the work. The tempest still continued during several successive days, with such incredible fury, that we believed heaven and earth were about to meet, and the sea was covered by fire. By straining of the shrouds, and the great rolling of the vessel, the mainmast was carried away about five fathoms above the deck. The first effects of this disaster induced us to believe that the whole was gone, in which case it would have proved impossible to prosecute our voyage: but, allowing the vessel to drive, we resorted to temporary expedients, and secured the remainder of the mainmast and rigging on the 20th, when the storm abated.

Directing our course towards the Canary Islands, a vessel came in sight a-stern, crowding all sail to come up with us; we therefore lay to, when she proved to be the *New Zealand*, on a voyage from

Flessingen to the East Indies. She had suffered nothing from the tempest ; and we now endeavoured to keep company with her, though scarce able to hoist enough of sail.

On the 23d another vessel came in sight, which, on nearing, we recognized to be the *New Enkhuyzen*, one that had sailed from Holland at the same time with ourselves for India. Keeping company, we came in sight of the Canary Islands, and thought to obtain some refreshments at St Anthony's ; but the fogs preventing us from discovering that island, our course was altered, and we arrived at Fogo.

There having cast anchor, we set about refitting the ship, and sent a boat towards the shore, which was saluted by some shot from the Spaniards, signifying that we should not be permitted to land. A cloud of dust, like white ashes, at this time rose from the shore, and, overspreading the vessel, stuck so close as to be with difficulty removed ; but, after clearing it off, we weighed anchor and set sail.

Meanwhile the other two vessels parted company, and some time elapsed before they rejoined the *New Horn* ; when they did so, they related, that, having landed on the Isle of May to obtain refreshments, they were opposed by the Spaniards, and obliged to retire without any thing, after losing two men.

Calms were experienced under the line, with slight showers, and occasionally baffling winds ; or sometimes the wind would shift round all the points of the compass ; so that we were detained three weeks, unable to get into the southern latitudes. Though calms were chiefly prevalent through the day, at night the sea was agitated, and the waves beating against the ship shone as if illuminated by fire.

The wind being in the south-east, we now kept a good look-out, and endeavoured to pass the Abrolhos to windward, which, after seeing the outermost rocks, we happily accomplished by the favour of God, to our great satisfaction. On the same day double allowance was served out, and a pint of Spanish wine to each man, and then we stood towards the islands of Tristan D'Acunha. By observation we found ourselves in the same latitude; nevertheless, we passed them without coming in sight, and were then, by the wind shifting, obliged to endeavour to make the Cape of Good Hope. On this course we saw some sea-fowl, spotted with black, a sure indication of its vicinity, and caught several by an implement to which a little bell was attached. But a more certain proof of the vicinity of that part of Africa still, is when there is no variation of the needle, and then the navigator may look out for land. However, the weather proving tempestuous, it was resolved, by the ship's council, to pass without touching at the Cape; and, accordingly, having plenty of provisions, and the crew being in good health, we ranged along the coast of Natal. We had now been out five months, and the Enkhuysen being destined for the coast of Coromandel, took leave of us and the other vessel, meaning to pass south of the island of Madagascar, and then get refreshments at Mayote. The New Zealand also parted company in a short time after, steering two points farther to the north, when we made the best of our way for Madagascar.

By an observation, subsequent to this separation, we found ourselves in 23° of south latitude, at which time great sickness prevailed in the ship, forty were confined to their hammocks, and many

more complaining : therefore, the council determined to steer for St Losie Bay in Madagascar. On approaching the island, we could get no secure anchorage, on which account, I myself went off in the long-boat in quest of it; but the surf beat so heavy on the shore that we durst not land. Some of the natives were seen walking along the beach, and one of the boat's crew swam ashore to speak to them. However, although they pointed to places further down the coast, as if suitable for landing, we were uncertain of their meaning; and not having any prospect of obtaining fresh provisions, we returned on board to the great distress of our sick people, and hoisting sail bore away.

The number of sick daily augmented, and several having died, the survivors sent some of the officers to my cabin, humbly requesting that we should make for land. Thus we resolved to attempt gaining either the island of Mauritius or that of Mascarenhas. Steering on a course between them, as they are not far asunder, we came in sight of the east coast of the latter, and anchored in forty fathoms, near the shore.

The sick having understood that the long-boat which had been dispatched to the island had returned with a quantity of turtle, they requested to be sent ashore, saying, that they should certainly recover from the goodness of the air; but Heyn-Rol, the supercargo, would by no means consent to it, affirming, that it was dangerous from the roughness of the sea. Nevertheless, they persisted in their entreaties, and anxiously solicited me to send them ashore, whereupon I myself asked Heyn Rol, whether he would agree to it, and received a negative. I told him, however, that I should do so, and be responsible for the conse-

quences; and the seamen assisted the sick down into the boats. Accordingly, I supplied them with a sail for a tent, oil, vinegar, and kitchen utensils, and also two cooks to make ready their provisions. No sooner had they landed than they rolled themselves on the grass, believing that they reaped immediate benefit. Better anchorage, however, being obtained in a fine sandy bay, the sick, forty in number, were re-embarked, and the vessel having weighed, cast anchor five leagues farther along the coast, where they were again landed.

Here we found a number of blue pigeons on the trees, so tame, that they suffered us to catch them with our hands, and we killed and roasted two hundred the first day. Many other birds were also procured, such as grey-parroquets, wild-geese, and penguins, which having only stumps of wings cannot fly. It was entertaining on catching a parrot, or any such bird, and making it cry, to see the rest of its kind flock round to defend it, and thus allow themselves to be caught. Turtle were besides so plentiful, twenty-five lying under a single tree, that we took as many as we chose.

A number of people were sent ashore in order to obtain fresh provisions, and eight, detached on a fishing party, obtained all kinds of good fish, some as large as a salmon. We conveyed our casks to a small fresh water river, whose banks were covered with trees in regular order, presenting a beautiful perspective view all along its course; nothing in the world could be more delightful. In this place was found a wooden plank, with an inscription, bearing, that Captain Adrian Maerts Block had been there with a fleet of thirteen vessels; on sending his boats ashore they

were overwhelmed by the surf, and their crews drowned. During our residence the sea was very moderate.

On this, which proved to be an uninhabited island, our people procured abundant supplies of birds, and also fishes from another river. They took off their shirts, and, stretching them across the river the cool, caught a number of large and excellent ones. It was amusing to observe the turtle every morning crawl out of the sea, and, scraping a hole in the sand to lay their eggs, leave them to be hatched by the sun; when this was accomplished, the young ones, not larger than a nut, were seen coming out of the holes and running along the beach.

From palm trees a mild and agreeable liquor was extracted; and we saw some goats, which were so wild, that only an old one could be caught, whose flesh was bad eating.

All these things contributed to the convalescence of the sick, and the whole, excepting seven, were able to return to the vessel: the others were left until we should be ready to sail. * On their arrival, we refitted the ship without and within, the ports were opened for admission of the air, and the whole fumigated with vinegar.

John Peter of Horn, the first pilot, who was sent ashore for the casks left on the banks of the river, brought great store of birds; but, now being more difficult to be taken than before, his gun in firing at them burst, by which he lost an eye.

Every thing being ready for the voyage, the drum beat for the return of the people, and we set sail. Though we had been twenty-one days on the island, some sick were still among us, whence we were induced to bear away for the island of

Mauritius ; but getting too much to windward, we found ourselves unable to beat up.

Having still a long voyage before reaching Batavia or Bantam, the ship's council resolved to steer for St Mary's Island, which lies right opposite the Bay of Antongil, in the Island of Madagascar. Coming in sight of it, we stood to the west, coasting around the island in six, seven, and eight fathoms water, as clear as crystal, and in which we distinctly saw the bottom.

We were soon observed by the natives, who came on board in a small canoe, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, bringing us apples, citron, rice, and poultry. Unable to understand our language, they imitated the crying of cattle, sheep, and poultry, signifying that we should have them if we chose. We viewed these people with great admiration; they were almost entirely naked, of a yellowish brown colour, produced by the oil with which they rub themselves, as a preservative against the heat of the sun. On presenting them with a large cup full of wine, they put their whole head within it, drinking in the manner of beasts, for they know not how to drink like us : but the fumes of the liquor beginning to operate, made them behave so as to afford us much diversion. We went daily ashore to traffic with them, exchanging bells, spoons, and knives, for cattle, sheep, rice, and milk. What they brought of the latter was contained in baskets made of leaves, so closely interwoven, that it was drawn off by a hole pierced through.

After remaining here several days we shifted our station ; but supplies falling short, the council resolved that I should go in the long-boat to Madagascar. Landing there we had at first little

better success ; we then rowed up a river until the meeting of the branches of the trees growing on its banks obliged us to desist, and staid three days without seeing either men, beasts, or fruit. Thus we returned to St Mary's Island, and carried what provisions we could procure on board. All our people were now in perfect health ; among them we had a man who played on the violin before the natives, which seemed to put them altogether beside themselves. They gazed on him with wonder, surrounded him, leaping and dancing, with a thousand other monkey tricks, which gave us more entertainment than I can well describe.

These people have no knowledge of a deity ; but, before their houses they had the heads of oxen stuck on poles, to which they kneeled and prostrated themselves in adoration. We attempted to give them some instruction in our religion, but not seeing any likelihood of success, we desisted and returned on board.

After heeling the vessel, to clean her bottom, we set sail, standing for the Straits of Sunda.

On the 19th of November, we had reached the latitude of the Straits, which lie $5^{\circ} 30'$ south of the line, when I was suddenly alarmed with a cry of " fire." Then walking on deck, I looked down the hatchways, where I could discover nothing except the steward pouring water into a cask. But I quickly repaired thither, asking him where the fire was, on which he pointed to the cask, and I thrust in my arm without being sensible of any thing like fire. It appeared, however, that the steward had gone down with a candle to fill his keg with brandy, that a small glass might be served out to each person next morning according to custom. While thus occupied, he

had thrust his candle into the hole of a cask on a tier above that from whence he drew the spirits, and in removing it, a spark from the wick fell exactly into the bung-hole of the other. The water he had poured in prevented me from discovering the fire, and, considering it extinguished, I returned to the deck. The fact unluckily proved otherwise; and the flames rapidly reviving, blew out the ends of the cask, when still more unfortunately, the fire, reaching a heap of coals which had been stowed under the cask, kindled them. A second alarm of fire ensued, and all hands ran hastily to the place, making great exertions to get it under, which was extremely difficult to be accomplished, as there were four tier of casks above each other. Besides, another embarrassment confounded us, for such a thick and sulphureous smoke arose from the wet coal, that those at the bottom of the hold were almost suffocated, and could scarce find the hatchways. In this emergency, I proposed to Heyn-Rol the supercargo, that we should throw the powder overboard, but he refused to consent, alleging, that the fire might still be extinguished. "Besides," says he, "if we throw away our powder, how shall we defend ourselves against our enemies; should we be attacked and taken, we shall have no apology." In short, the powder remained.

Meantime, the rage of the fire augmented more and more, and as it was impossible to remain down in the hold, the decks were scuttled, that yet greater quantities of water might be poured into it, but all in vain.

The launch had been three weeks astern of the vessel, and now the yawl was also lowered down to clear the decks. Seeing nothing but sky and

sea, and dreading the progress of a devouring element without the hope of succour, terror and apprehension spread among the crew; some of them began to desert their posts; quietly slipping along and concealing themselves by the chain wales, they dropped down into the sea, endeavouring to swim to the launch or cutter, where they also attempted to lie unnoticed.

Heyn-Rol, coming by chance into the gallery was surprised to see so many people in the boats. They cried to him that they were about to cast off, and entreated him, if he meant to accompany them, to lose no time and descend the stern ladder. Allowing himself to be persuaded, he went down, and then requested them "to apprise their captain and wait for him," but they would not do so, and cutting the penter made away.

I who knew nothing of all this, was exerting myself to get the fire under, when a seaman came to me with tears in his eyes, saying, "Dear captain what can we now do, the launch and cutter have deserted us?" "If they are gone," I answered, "it is not to return," and hastily ran above. There I soon satisfied myself of the truth, and immediately hoisted all sail to run them down; but when within about three ship lengths, they got the weather gage and escaped.

I then renewed my endeavours to encourage the rest of the crew, telling them, that next to God our trust must be in ourselves, and exhorting them to persevere steadily in their exertions to get the fire under. In the next place, I ordered the powder to be thrown overboard, and they hastened to obey me. The fire being at the bottom of the hold, which it was difficult to reach on account of a quantity of iron and other things that

obstructed us, I resolved to let in the water through the ship's side to a considerable height, in hopes of extinguishing it; and carpenters were immediately sent for with their augers to bore the necessary holes.

Nothing but sighs and lamentations resounded in the vessel, while, with unabated vigour, quantities of water continued to be poured down the hatchways. In a short time, however, the oil took fire, and the flames became more and more furious as we tried to conquer them. Our situation now became desperate, consternation spread among the crew, their exclamations of terror increased, until, beholding inevitable death approach with rapid strides to destroy them, their courage sunk into apathy. I stood upon the deck, along with sixty-five others, close by the main hatchway, receiving the water in buckets: Sixty barrels of powder had been got over-board, but three hundred still remained; the fire at length reached them, and the vessel blew up in the air, with one hundred and nineteen souls: a moment afterwards, not a human being was to be seen; and, believing myself launched into eternity, I cried, "Lord have mercy on my soul!"

But although stunned by the explosion, sensation did not entirely forsake me, and perhaps some slender remnant of life and resolution still lurked in my heart. Thus on falling back into the water, near the wreck of the ship, now in more than a thousand pieces, I took a little breath, and looking around me, saw the main-mast and then the fore-mast floating close by my side: I gained the former, uttering exclamations of regret, and, occupied by reflections which my situation excited, I observed a young man rise from the water, who swam

to part of the vessel, crying out, "I have got it!" "My God," said I to myself, "does any one survive?" A yard was drifting towards him, and the mast which I had seized not being steady enough, I cried out to him, to push the yard a little nearer me, that I might secure myself on it and then join him, though two wounds on the head, and bruises over all my back, almost precluded me from moving; so that recommending myself to heaven, I thought a little longer time would terminate my existence.

Thus my companion and myself being seated together, each holding a plank in his hand, part of the wreck of the forecastle, the former raised himself, trying to discover the long boat. He saw her indeed, but at such a distance, that he was unable to discern whether the head or stern was foremost.

At this period the sun went down, to our great affliction, for we were destitute of all prospect of succour, and our only consolation lay in invoking the mercy of God to relieve our distress.

After doing so with all humility, we were agreeably surprised with the sight of both the launch and cutter, which met beside us. I cried to the people to save their Captain, which they answered with demonstrations of wonder, asking if he was still in life. On my assuring them of the truth, the young man leapt boldly into the water and swam to the boat; but, incapable of following his example, from the wounds I had received, I exclaimed, if they meant to save me, they must approach nearer. The trumpeter then threw out a rope, which I fastened about my body, and being drawn towards them, was taken into the boat. Formerly I had made a small place in the stern of this same boat, where two men could easily lie,

and now went there to repose, thinking myself about to expire.

Heyn-Rol, the supercargo, and the rest soon came to see me, when I told them that we ought to remain near the wreck during the night, in hopes of saving some provisions, and try whether we might not by chance recover some of the compasses, for they had abandoned the vessel with such precipitation, as not only to leave all instruments behind them, but also every kind of provisions. I now learned also, that the pilot had removed the compass from the binnacle ; a sure proof that he anticipated the destruction of the ship.

Whilst lying in this little recess, Heyn-Rol set the men to the bars, and made them row all night, as if there had been a prospect of finding land : but morning came, and they saw no appearance of it, which afflicted them grievously, from having left the wreck. Thus coming to ask my advice, I said they should have done as I had directed, as had we remained by the wreck, we should have saved plenty of provisions ; for both meat and cheese were driving about in such quantities among our legs, that we could scarcely get free of them. They entreated me to come out, though for a short time ; to which I answered, that my present condition rendered it very difficult, but I should do so if they would assist me ; therefore, they carried me out.

The first thing I did, was to ask how much provision they had, when they brought one or two little casks containing seven or eight pounds of biscuit, which was all that they had saved. "Comrades," said I to them, "we must follow another plan, lay aside your oars, for your strength will soon be exhausted."---"What shall we do then?"

said they, "Take your shirts and make sails of them : "----" But how can we do that," the people answered, "seeing we have neither needles nor thread : " I directed them to untwist all the cordage they could find about the boat, and then to run it through the linen. Thus they took off their shirts and made sails out of them : but when I offered mine, they refused it, as essential to my own safety from my feeble state.

Forty-six persons were in the launch, and twenty-six in the cutter, being seventy-two in whole. A dressing-gown and a pillow had been thrown into the latter, which were brought to me : I put on the night-gown, and rested my head on the pillow, on account of the two wounds I had received in it. Our surgeon was among those preserved, but having no medicines, he applied some chewed bread to my wounds, which through God's assistance healed them.

Occupied in making the sails, we drifted the whole day, and towards night they were ready : hoisting them, we steered by the stars as a guide, though we could scarce observe their rising or setting. The night proved excessively cold, and the following day extremely hot, from the sun being perpendicular above our heads.

On the twenty-first of the month, and the two succeeding days, we made a kind of a cross-staff, by means of the cooper, who could draw a little, and had a pair of small compasses ; and we afterwards contrived to make a quadrant. I engraved a chart as well as I could, of the island of Sumatra and that of Java, together with the Straits of Sunda lying between them, on a plank in the stern of the boat. Having, on the same day that our unfortunate vessel was destroyed, made an observation.

and found we were five degrees and a half south of the line, I pricked the chart, and calculated that our distance was now 90 leagues from land. I also constructed a compass, whereby we might steer with greater certainty.

The seven or eight pounds of biscuit were now distributed by equal portions daily, of the size of a man's finger; but that slender stock could not last long among so many. We had nothing whatever to drink, and thence suffered thirst insupportable. Fortunately, however, the sky overcast, and we spread the sails to receive the falling rain, that we might fill our casks to serve again in case of necessity. A cup was made of a shoe, and I caused the people observe order in drinking, that is, whoever went to the cask to drink, should immediately return, leaving his place to another. They all besought me to drink as much as I chose, but I restricted myself to the same allowance that was given to the rest. The launch and cutter set sail in company, but the former being the better sailer of the two, the cutter could scarce keep up with her. None of the people there understanding navigation, they were apprehensive of losing their course, and earnestly entreated me to receive them into the launch: but those along with me opposed it, observing, that although the launch was large, she could not contain so many, and all would infallibly perish; and they cut the tow-rope.

Great misery prevailed among us, we had no food whatever, and we were far from sight of land. However, I tried to encourage the men, with assurances of being near the shore; but they began to murmur, saying, "Although the captain tells us we approach the land, it rather seems that we are receding farther from it."

One day, when much distressed from hunger, it pleased God to send a flock of sea-fowl, flying close to us, as if on purpose to be taken ; and accordingly, having caught some, we greedily devoured them raw, and as heartily as if they had been well cooked. Yet we had not enough for a plentiful repast ; and there still being no appearance of land, our hopes died quite away.

The people in the cutter renewing their entreaties a second time, were received into the launch, for we thought that it was best we should all perish together. For better accommodation, as the launch was deep, a kind of deck was laid of the oars where part could sit, while others were below, and seventy-two souls were now crowded together here, destitute of both meat and drink.

While casting a melancholy gaze on each other, it happened, by the mercy of God, that a quantity of flying fish rose from the water, and some fell within our reach. These we divided among us, and ate raw, which proved a salutary relief and saved our lives. It was wonderful indeed that no person died, for several had begun to drink salt water, notwithstanding my assuring them that they would derive no relief from it. Our misery daily increased, and the rage of hunger urging us to extremities, the people began to regard each other with ferocious looks. Consulting among themselves, they secretly determined to devour the boys on board, and after their bodies were consumed, to throw lots who should next suffer death, that the lives of the rest might be preserved. I want words to express the sensations which this declaration excited in my breast, and when I saw some of my comrades ready to tear the boys piece-meal, I earnestly prayed God to divert

their hearts from such cruelty ; then approaching them, I said, " My friends, I pledge myself that we are not far from land, for I know it by our instruments ; let us put our trust in God, and he will send relief." But the people answered, that I had long amused them with such predictions, yet no land appeared ; and they indulged in loud murmurs, plainly expressing, that should we not get sight of land in three days, the boys should be sacrificed. Satisfied of their barbarous intentions, I redoubled my prayers to heaven : I implored the Almighty, that he would preserve us from so horrible a crime, that our sufferings might not be protracted beyond endurance, and that he would guide us to a haven of safety.

We became so enfeebled that we could no longer stand upright ; Heyn-Rol was unable to rise, and though I could crawl from the stern to the head of the boat encouraging the people, I myself stood in greatest need of consolation.

In this way we steered in a manner at random, until the second of December, the thirteenth day after the calamity that befel our vessel. The sky overcast, and, having spread the sails, we caught our two kegs full of rain water.

All the people had given up their shirts for sails ; and they were almost naked besides, from having left the vessel with such precipitation ; therefore they crowded close together to increase their natural heat. At that time I was at the helm, always anxiously looking out for land ; but, feeling quite benumbed, I called the quarter-master to relieve me, while I crawled, as well as I could, to the others, thrusting myself among them to obtain a little heat. The quarter-master had not been an hour at the helm, when the weather became clear

and serene, and he suddenly cried out, "*Land! land!*" Universal joy was disseminated; our strength was renewed; we crept out from under the sails, and, hoisting them, stood for the shore, which we reached the same day. Our first employment was returning thanks to Heaven, in which I was not the least fervent, seeing we had now, on the last of the three days, been preserved from executing the cruel and barbarous resolution of devouring our own species.

This land proved an island where we found plenty of cocoa-nuts, but no fresh water, though industriously sought. However, we drew off the milk from the freshest of the nuts, and ate the kernel of the old ones, though in too great quantity, as it brought on fluxes. Next day we had recovered, and traversed all the island without seeing inhabitants. Laying in a store of cocoa-nuts, we sailed, and the following day came in sight of Sumatra, which is four or five leagues distant. So long as our nuts lasted we coasted towards the east, and these being exhausted, it was necessary to seek some convenient place for debarkation, which the breaking of the surf opposed; but four or five of the seamen ventured to swim ashore. After traversing the beach some time, they discovered the mouth of a river, and made signs to us to come towards them. We did so; and, finding a dangerous bar at its entrance, I asked the people whether they would run the risk of crossing it. All answered in the affirmative. Thus, sending two men astern, one at each side with an oar, and myself being at the helm, we attempted the passage. The first breaker half-filled the boat, but the men hastened to free her, some baling out the water with their hats, others with their shoes.

The second wave almost completely overwhelmed us, and it required our utmost exertions to save ourselves, always standing right across the bar. Happily the third broke short of the boat, and we landed in safety.

Here we found fresh water, and beans growing among the grass; and, at some distance from the landing place, some tobacco beside the remains of a fire. We were overjoyed at the sight, as it shewed the island to be inhabited; and, kindling five or six fires, we went to sleep and smoke by turns. As darkness approached, sentinels were posted in different directions from the fires, lest the natives might attempt to surprise us. But during night we felt ourselves extremely ill, being attacked by severe colics, from the vegetables we had ate; and at this time the natives, taking advantage of the darkness, secretly stole near, with the design of massacring us. Fortunately, our sentinels descried their approach, else we might have been in great danger; for, independent of indisposition, all our arms were two hatchets and a rusty sword. Yet, although so slenderly provided, we resolved that our lives should not be cheaply sold; and, having little time for deliberation, I drew up my men, each with a fire-brand in his hand, with myself at their head. All rushed against the natives, who, terrified at the formidable display, and not well knowing whether we were armed or otherwise, took to flight. We therefore returned to our fires, and remained undisturbed during the rest of the night.

At break of day three natives were observed coming down to the beach, on which we sent three of our men, who had formerly been in India, and understood something of the Malay tongue, towards

them. Approaching our people, they learned who we were, and agreed to traffic with us: they then came to our main body, asking whether we had arms, which we took care to answer in the affirmative, adding, that we had a great quantity of warlike stores; in which respect our weakness could not be betrayed, for the sails were spread over the launch, and prevented them from seeing what she contained. Collecting about eight crowns among us, we purchased boiled rice and poultry from them, of which we made a comfortable repast. This finished, we endeavoured to discover the name of their country, but we could make nothing of their answer, except that they frequently expressed the word SUMATRA. Pointing to leeward, as if towards the island of Java, they repeated the name of *Jan Koen*, signifying that he was governor, and truly they were right, for John Peter Koen was then general-in-chief.

We were agreeably surprised by this intelligence: but provisions being scanty, I carried four men and our remaining money to a village, which was not far distant, in order to purchase a supply; and having done so, dispatched them as expeditiously as possible to Heyn-Rol, with instructions to make an equal distribution. In this village we were supplied with a pleasant kind of liquor extracted from trees, possessing an inebriating quality; and, during a repast which we made on some fowls, the inhabitants of the village sat down beside us, gazing with astonishment, but saying nothing. I then purchased and paid five crowns and a half for a buffalo, which proved so fierce that we could not catch it.

The evening now beginning to close, I considered it time to depart; but my people were anxi-

ous to remain behind, thinking it would be easier to catch the buffalo by night than in the day. I therefore bid them adieu, and came away. Returning to the banks where the little boat lay, I fell in with a troop of natives quarrelling among themselves, and the subject of their dispute doubtless was, whether to allow us to embark or not. Assuming a commanding mien, I took two by the arms and pushed them towards the boat. They entered it, each with a paddle before and astern, and I between them, in the middle. After we had made some progress down the river, he who was behind me signified that he wanted money, whence, putting my hand in my purse, I drew out the fourth part of a piastre, with which I presented him. He looked at it a long time, as if in doubt whether to accept it or not; at length, having wrapped it in a piece of linen encircling his waist, he returned to his place. The native before also came to me with signs that he too wanted something, whereupon I drew another coin of the same value from my purse, and gave it to him. He gazed on it, as if hesitating whether it should be accepted, and then took it, with marks of dissatisfaction.

While about half down the river, they began to murmur, and, darting ferocious glances at me, I became alarmed for an attack. Indeed, I must acknowledge that I laboured under great apprehension, for I had no means whatever of defence. Putting my trust in Heaven, I began to sing a psalm, and so loud, that the banks of the river resounded with my voice. Whenever the natives heard me, they laughed immoderately, conceiving that I had no impression of fear: and happily we got in sight of the launch. I then made a sign to

my own men, who ran down to the beach to receive me ; and I directed the negroes to carry the boat close ashore.

The natives, now inquiring where our people slept, I pointed to tents that they had constructed of boughs of trees ; and I told Heyn-Rol what had happened respecting the buffalo. Next morning, accordingly, two men brought a buffalo, though not the same that I had purchased ; and, by means of our cooper, who understood a little of the language, we explained this matter, also expressing surprise at the absence of our four men. However, they said that the buffalo should be brought whenever it could be caught. To guard against a similar accident, William Galen, a serjeant, by my orders, ham-strung the animal, which fell down ; and the negroes, uttering a shout of surprise, two or three hundred natives, posted in a neighbouring wood, rushed out and tried to intercept us from the boat. But one of the sentinels gave the alarm, and hastily fled to join us. Perceiving them approach, with sabres and shields, I called to my people to save themselves ; when some gained the launch, and others plunged into the water. The natives pressed furiously upon us, but were warmly received, the ship's baker using the rusty sword with great effect, and other two vigorously supporting him with the hatchets. Though we did our best, we should soon have been overpowered had we not left our grapnel behind ; and, hoisting sail, escaped. Several of our people were wounded, particularly the baker, who fought so courageously ; he received the thrust of a poisoned lance, above the navel. Afterwards he became severely indisposed, and immediately the wounded part grew quite blue ; nor did an incision all

around the wound, to prevent the poison spreading, prove of any assistance, for, having attacked his bowels, he died.

The negroes, seeing us under sail, hastened to the bar at the mouth of the river, in hopes that we should be wrecked in crossing it: but it was otherwise ordained, for our boat, being high before and strong built, passed it without taking in a drop of water, to their great surprise, and indeed to our own, considering the trouble we had formerly experienced.

Having gained the open sea, we ascertained, on mustering the people, that we had lost sixteen, namely, eleven in the rencounter, the baker, who died of his wound, and the four men who were left ashore at the village. These four, I firmly believe, were the means of saving my life, for unquestionably the dispute on the banks respected the natives murdering me, a measure which some opposed, awaiting my return with a greater number of people, as I had promised. It was very distressing for us to leave our men behind, without knowing any thing of them; but, on reflecting that the natives could not have left them alive, and as we had only eight fowls and a small quantity of rice to sustain fifty-six persons, it would have been imprudent to remain longer. Thus we coasted along a shore begirt by shoals, where we found some small shell-fish, which proved a seasonable supply, and then we filled our kegs with fresh water in the neighbourhood.

Leaving a bay we stood out to sea, to prosecute our voyage. After sailing some time, a great storm rendered it necessary to take in all the sails, which we spread over the launch for shelter, and allowed her to drift until day-break. The gale

then abating, three islands were discovered at a distance, for which we resolved to make, in hopes of obtaining some nourishment to support our miserable lives. With the wind on the quarter, we reached them before night, and found bamboos and palm trees. The extremities of these plants being tender, we cut off a quantity, which we ate, and then proceeded to fill our casks at a river. But all they could contain being insufficient, we used, as a substitute for others, the hollow part of the bamboo between the joints, and got a quantity equivalent to four casks of water by that expedient.

While our people traversed the island without interruption, I withdrew unperceived to ascend a high mountain, there trusting that I might encourage the men with some new hope, for they expected every thing of me, and I was frequently at a loss for want of proper instruments. The weather was fine and serene : looking around me in all directions, at length I discovered two great blue hills, and, at the same time, recollected to have formerly heard from William Cornelius Schouten, an experienced navigator, that, on the extreme point of Java, there were two of that description. Having left the island of Sumatra, I saw the mountains to the right, without intermediate land in view. Therefore it was now evident, from the Straits of Sunda being between Java and Sumatra, that we were in the direct course. Prostrating myself on the earth, I prayed Heaven still to be our guide, and gratefully acknowledged the mercy we had hitherto experienced; and, transported with joy, hastened down the mountain to impart the glad tidings to the rest. Impatient to depart,

we summoned the people, and quitted this, which we called *Prince's Island*.

About midnight we descried what was taken for a vessel on fire, but, on nearer approach, the light proved to proceed from a small island, called *Dwars in de Weg*, in the Straits of Sunda. One of the seamen, climbing up the mast, discovered vessels at a distance, of which he counted twenty-three. Our joy may be easily figured. We instantly got out our oars for greater speed, as the wind had lulled, and exerted ourselves to get up to them. Had we not discovered these vessels, our fate was inevitable, for we should have gone on to Bantam, where war had been declared against our countrymen, and thus have ran headlong into the hands of our enemies.

Frederic Houtman, who commanded these vessels, which were Dutch, had seen us with a telescope from the quarter-deck; wondering at the singularity of our sails, he could by no means make out what we were, and sent out a boat to ascertain the truth. We recognized the people in the boat, for we had left the Texel in company, and separated in the Spanish sea.

After mutual congratulations, Heyn-Rol and I went on board Houtman's ship, called the *Virgin of Dordrecht*. He ordered a table to be covered in his cabin for us; and we could not refrain from tears at now finding ourselves in the midst of plenty. Houtman was never weary of listening to our adventures, and expressed his admiration of our good fortune. We were provided with clothes adapted to the climate, and a yacht was appointed to carry us to Batavia.

Here we found General John Peter Koen, to whom we related the fatal accident which had

destroyed the New Horn, and the disastrous adventures that followed. He ordered an attendant to bring wine, which having received in a large gold cup, he drank, and presented it to me, saying, "Captain, you are welcome; you may consider that after once losing your life the Almighty has restored it:—To-morrow I leave this for Bantam on maritime affairs; but do you remain here and eat at my table until my return."

In eight days we were ordered to attend the general at Bantam, where we found him on board the *Virgin of Dordrecht*. Calling me, he said, "Captain Bontekoe, you may take command of the ship *Berger Boot*, until further orders." I gladly accepted the commission, and returned my best acknowledgements for the favour. Two days afterwards he sent for Heyn-Rol, and appointed him supercargo of this ship. Thus both held commissions in the same capacity as before, in one vessel."

Having brought the perils which Bontekoe suffered to a conclusion, little more need be said of his remaining adventures.

The *Berger Boot* carried thirty-two guns, and, in concert with other vessels, Bontekoe was sent to attack some of the Portuguese possessions in the east, and also to prosecute a war then prevailing between the Dutch and Chinese. In this service he was engaged the whole of the year 1620, in the end of which he met his brother, Peter Yabrant Bontekoe, who commanded the *Haarlem*, on a voyage from Japan. On the first of May 1621, he captured a Chinese junk, with 250 men, richly laden, on the way to Manilla, and took her in tow. His crew was then considerably reduced by sick-

ness, and, not considering himself very secure among so great a number of prisoners, his nightly rest was disturbed. Therefore all the men were ordered to dress like officers, which they did, arming themselves cap-a-pie. Next night the whole prisoners were confined in the hold, and the hatches closed; six men with drawn swords stood by them, and lamps were lighted between decks all night. The hatches were opened in the morning, and the prisoners brought up by turns to their provisions, when they were so much impressed by the order and appearance of the Dutch, that they drew up in a line to allow Bontekoe to pass to the quarter-deck: one of them said that a prophet among them had foretold that their country would be conquered by a man with a red beard, and, as his was of that colour, they now believed that the time of fulfilment was come. Every morning these Chinese combed themselves on the deck, and there were some among their number whose hair hung down to their heels. It was collected in knots behind, and fixed with a small wooden pin to keep it firm.

In 1623, Bontekoe was appointed commodore of a squadron in the East Indies, and hoisted his pendant accordingly. But soon afterwards he became anxious to return to his native country; and, resisting urgent solicitations to remain, added to promises of still further promotion, he was transferred to the ship *Holland*, which, in company with the *Middleburgh* and *Trigaut*, set out on the voyage homewards. These vessels experienced a terrible hurricane during the passage, which obliged them to take in all sail and drive before the wind to the southward. Towards midnight the gale increased, exceeding in violence any thing that had ever been experienced, at the same time shifting round to

all the points of the compass, and the mainmast of the *Holland* being carried away, was pitched overboard. The hurricane lasted four hours before the sea began to rise, but, when abating a little, the swell became so great that the ship was nearly overset, and, in her roll, took in such a quantity of water, that seven feet were found in the hold on sounding. It was then necessary to resort to the pumps; but, by the motion of the vessel, a number of brass and iron cannon in the hold crushed some bags of pepper, whereby the pumps were choked, and rendered useless. Meantime the water augmented to that degree as to create lively apprehensions that the ship would go down. However, the pumps were got out and cleared; and a piece of wicker-work being put into the bottom, they were lowered down again. This done, all hands plied them vigorously, and were encouraged by finding the water decrease. The main-mast was now beating with such violence, as to threaten breaking through the side of the ship, therefore the cordage was quickly cut, in order to let it drift away.

Next morning the *Middleburgh* was seen without the fore and main-mast, and severely damaged before; but the *Trigaut* not being in sight, it was concluded she had foundered in the night, which proved too true. The two ships with difficulty joined company, from the grievous injury they had sustained: but Captain Schouten, commander of the *Middleburgh*, at length sent out his boat to *Bontekoe*, with an earnest request for any spare masts and yards, to enable him to make the land, as he had been caught in the hurricane, and all his own except the mizen-mast carried away. *Bontekoe* thereupon assembled the ship's council,

and it was resolved to lend Captain Schouten a third of the crew, after which they should bear away for Madagascar. The crew, however, refused to go, and, becoming mutinous, declared they were in greater necessity than those of the Middleburgh, when Bontekoe, by expostulation, brought them to reason; and, being assured that they should be allowed to return to their own vessel, they obeyed the captain's orders.

Both vessels reached Madagascar in safety, where they were kindly treated by one of the kings of the country, who supplied them with provisions, and received presents in return. Sailing from thence, they encountered another storm off the Cape of Good Hope, and, in an engagement with the Spaniards, lost a number of men, among whom was the carpenter of the Holland, who had both his legs taken off by a cannon-ball.

About the middle of October, Bontekoe came in sight of the Irish coast; and, when off Kinsale, saw an English ship of war lying at anchor: But, apprehending that hostilities had broke out between Holland and Britain, he kept to sea. Observing, however, that the captain remained stationary, and shewed no inimical token, Bontekoe visited his ship, and invited him to dine on board his own next day, with which he complied; then, inquiring whether the English captain had any instructions to attack him, he learned that he had not, and, during his discourse, to his great joy, two Dutch vessels, sent to convoy him homewards, appeared in sight.

While this friendly intercourse took place on board, the seamen were enjoying good cheer ashore, and, although Bontekoe used every persuasion to induce them to return, he could not

collect them together. He therefore made an application to the mayor of the town for assistance, and to know whether it were not possible, by his authority, to recover them for the ship. The mayor coldly answered, that it was not. However, he would try, and Bontekoe might return to see him. On doing so two days after, the mayor pleaded that he had not time for an interview; therefore, Bontekoe thought it expedient to present his wife with a web of fine linen the following morning; nor does this seem to have been overlooked, for the drum went through the town after dinner, warning all the inhabitants and keepers of alehouses, that those who trusted the Dutch seamen in more than seven shillings, on any pretext whatever, should lose their claim of payment. The hosts, who had already given them credit for much more, instead of granting further supplies, turned them out of their houses, whereupon they complained to the captain, from whom they received no satisfaction, but orders for immediate embarkation. Yet this was against their will, and their reluctance to obey was seen by their wandering about from boat to boat, and not returning to the ship. He therefore weighed anchor as if to put to sea, but rather than be left behind, they struggled who should get first to the boats, and some even leaped into the sea to swim on board. Nevertheless, Bontekoe paid all claims made by the inhabitants of Kinsale, who also arrived, and sent them ashore. Then mustering his men, he found four deficient, who had made matrimonial engagements with women of the place. Setting sail in company with the other two vessels which had come to convoy him, he reached Zealand on the 15th of November 1625.

Bontekoe afterwards returned to Horn, the place of his nativity, where he led an exemplary life, and died in the esteem and admiration of all who knew him.

The Dutch had long beheld the growing influence of other European nations in the east, with an invidious eye, and ardently coveted a share of those treasures, which were continually remitted to enrich the mother country. So early as the year 1597, attracted by the fertility of the island of Java, and the courteous manners of its inhabitants, a traffic was commenced, whereby Houtman, a Dutch navigator, was to lade a fleet with foreign produce, in exchange for that which he carried thither. But some presumptuous indiscretions having awakened the suspicious and resentment of the Javanese, Houtman was made prisoner, and with difficulty rescued from them. After an interval of several years, the Dutch had succeeded in erecting fortresses in the territory of Jacatra, and they resolved to expel all other settlers from that part of the island. Jan Petersz Koen, therefore, sailed with a powerful armament from Amboyna to effect their design, which proved abortive, from finding an English fleet still more powerful awaiting him in Jacatra Bay. Thus he returned to Amboyna to receive reinforcements. The Jacatrans, meantime, were employed in devising means to free themselves of any of the Dutch already among them, when Koen appeared, in March 1619, with seventeen ships, and six thousand troops. With these he easily subjugated the natives, and in order to perpetuate the name of his country, as well as to preserve his conquests, he founded the town of *Batavia* in the

same year. He chose a suitable spot for building a strong citadel, and marked out the boundaries of the town, which was to comprehend two miles in circumference, with a river running through the centre. So much activity prevailed, and the arrangements were so judicious, that, in about three years, a strong fortification and a regular city were completed. In the course of these volumes, future opportunities will occur of explaining the more recent state of Batavia, which has lately fallen under the dominion of the British government.

SHIPWRECK OF TWO DUTCH VESSELS

ON THE COAST OF MADAGASCAR, 1600—1620.

IN the History of the Island of Madagascar, written by M. Flacour, we find a brief account of the wreck of two Dutch vessels, which is occasionally introduced to illustrate his description of the manners of the natives.

“ The province of Ampaties, which lies in the most southern part of Madagascar, is inhabited by a people who are often engaged in wars among themselves. The ordinary source of these is the forcible carrying off the women of their neighbours ; but they are, besides, a race addicted to rob and plunder, whence they are never without enemies, and woe to the stranger who falls into their hands.

About twenty years ago, a Dutch vessel, with five hundred men, bound from Holland to Batavia, was cast away on the coast of Caramboule, in a great bay surrounded by rocks and islets ; there was no fresh water nearer than the river Manamboue, three or four leagues distant, along the coast. After being wrecked, the crew began to build a large bark, and also for temporary security constructed a wooden fort, from whence they made different excursions in quest of provisions, and

treated with the natives for the purchase of cattle for their subsistence. But after having obtained the latter, the natives stole them from the places where they pastured, and began to encroach upon the Dutch, and harass them to that degree, that war became unavoidable. In one of the encounters that followed, the captain and several men were unfortunately killed.

The building of the vessel meantime advanced, and at length the officers embarked with one hundred men. But as they were bound for Batavia, and no intelligence ever afterwards obtained of them, it was conjectured that the whole were lost at sea.

Those who remained behind were reduced to great extremity, from hunger and thirst. To appease the cravings of nature, they squeezed the juice from certain soft and tender trees peculiar to the country, abounding in a kind of milky sap, and then drank it, but it proved of a deleterious nature; whence many of the people, after falling into stupor, died of the poison; and others being way-laid were killed, either by those among whom they dwelt, for the sake of their clothes and money, or by the treachery of the Ompilampes, who are robbers living in the woods.

A great quantity of money, which had been in the vessel, was recovered before the bark sailed for Batavia, and divided among the survivors, to the extent of two or three hundred pieces of eight each. But misunderstandings and contentions arose among them; they separated into small parties, wandering from one place to another; by this means offering an easy prey to their enemies.

At last, of the whole ship's company only two Frenchmen survived. They lived some time with

Dian Mammori, the chief of the country, who employed menaces to force them to make gold, believing that they were capable of doing so. They, however, considered it prudent to retire into the province of Anossi, a country situated in the south-east extremity of Madagascar, where the French afterwards had a settlement, carrying with them five or six hundred pieces of eight, which they buried on the way, but never afterwards durst venture to return and seek for it. In the province of Anossi, they repaired to the residence of Dian Machicore, a chief, and reached Fanzere, a considerable village, where one died of disease. The other returned with Captain Rezimont to France, in his voyage from the Red Sea, in 1636 or 1637."

"About the year 1618, a large Dutch vessel returning from India was wrecked on the coast of Caramboule. The whole crew perished, except a single young man, called Pitre, the son of the captain, who saved himself on an empty cask. After floating three days on the sea, he was washed ashore on a sandy beach, where several negroes were already collecting fragments of the wreck. The negroes beholding him at a distance, thought it was some spirit; but after he had with difficulty dragged his limbs from the water, owing to extreme weakness, they surrounded him, and coveting a sabre and carabine hanging by each side, hesitated whether or not they should put him to death. Meantime, he put his hand to his mouth, making signs for drink, which they not understanding, continued to view him with astonishment.

The negroes at length informed the chief of the neighbourhood, Dian Mammori, concerning this

young man, who immediately caused him be conducted to his village, lodged him in his own hut, and supplied him with food and clothing, and in short treated him in the best manner he could.

Of all the loading of the ship, Pitre had saved nothing except two diamonds, which his father, at the moment of the wreck, gave him to secure, thinking, if he preserved them, they might be of some use, and as he then considered it more likely that his son, who was young and vigorous should escape, than himself an old man. Pitre gave one of these diamonds, set in a gold ring, to Dian Mammori, which his father had said was all the advantage he expected from his voyage to India. During two years that he lived with Dian Mammori, he learned the language of the country; and in making fishing-nets, assisting in the chase, and other occupations, became so expert, that all admired him.

Dian Tsiamban, chief of the province of Anossi, hearing that a Christian was with the inhabitants of Caramboule, sent a present of thirteen oxen to Dian Mammori, praying that Pitre might come to him in return. Accordingly, he passed into the province of Auossi, where he was well received by Dian Tsiamban, who gave him a house, and also one of his daughters or a near female relation to live with him. He likewise furnished him with slaves, and supplied him with all conveniencies afforded by the country. During five years more, he completely attained the language.

A Dutch ship having arrived at Yanghafia, a place where the French afterwards founded a settlement, Dian Tsiamban, the chief, sent him, accompanied by thirty or forty negroes, with presents to the captain, consisting of fifty oxen,

fifty baskets of rice, and other things, allowing Pitre to give half as much more in his own name. The Dutch, believing him to be the king's son, were astonished to hear him speak their own language, but at length he told him who he actually was. The captain sent presents in return, consisting of an hundred pieces of eight, silks and porcelains, and gave half as much to Pitre himself; and he, besides, dispatched some of his ship's company to Dian Tsiamban, the chief, thanking him for his kindness to his countryman. Pitre was not content to remain in Madagascar; therefore, taking the opportunity of this vessel, he embarked and returned home."

SHIPWRECK OF FRANCIS PELSART,

ON THE COAST OF NEW HOLLAND, 1629*.

THE Dutch having transferred their chief eastern establishments from Amboyna to the island of Java, spared no exertions to expel other nations, and engross the whole of a profitable traffic with the surrounding countries to themselves. Powerful fleets, skilful officers, and enterprising merchants, all contributed to accomplish their views, and their influence long predominated over that of any of the European powers. A successful voyage under General Carpenter, who returned from the Australasian regions, with five vessels, richly laden, in 1628, induced the East India Company to order the immediate equipment of a fleet which should sail in the course of the same year.

Eleven vessels, one of which was the *Batavia*, commanded by Francis Pelsart, accordingly left the Texel on the 28th of March 1628. After passing the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered a storm, in the course of which the *Batavia*

* This narrative is said to have been first published by *Thevenot*, in his *Collection of Voyages*; it was afterwards abridged by the President *De Brosse*, in his *Histoire des Navigations aux terres Australes*, and is inserted by *Prevost* in the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, from whence it has been adopted into various other collections.

parted company ; and in steering for the place of her destination, the pilot seems to have lost his reckoning. Meantime, Pelsart falling sick, was confined to his cabin ; and, during the night of the 4th of June, while in 28° of south latitude, the ship struck on *Houtman's Abrolhos*, a shoal stretching along the coast of New Holland. Pelsart, alarmed by the shock, hastily ran on deck, where he found the ship had been under full sail, steering north-north-east, which proves that she had got out of her course. The light of the moon shewed that the water to a considerable distance was covered with white foam, which augmented his apprehension, and he anxiously demanded of the pilot whence it arose. The whiteness, the pilot replied, was certainly owing to the beams of the moon ; but God only knew the situation of the vessel, for there was too great reason to dread her being on some unknown shoal.

The lead being cast, eighteen feet water were found astern, but considerably less before ; Pelsart, however, in hopes that by lightening the ship she would float, ordered all the guns to be thrown overboard. While the crew were occupied in obeying his commands, a dreadful storm of wind and rain arose, which threatened all with instant destruction ; additional rocks and shoals appeared, against which the vessel beat incessantly, and cutting away the mainmast became necessary, to diminish the violence of the shocks. But this had not the desired effect, and although precautions were taken to cut it very low, it was impossible to get the ship clear of the mast.

No land over which the sea did not break could now be seen, except an island about three leagues distant, and two islets, or rather rocks, supposed to

be somewhat nearer. The pilot having been dispatched to reconnoitre them, returned with intelligence, that they were not covered by the sea, but from the intervening rocks and shoals they would be of extremely difficult access.

Nevertheless, it was judged expedient immediately to send the women, children, and sick ashore ; for their terror and despair, and continued shrieks of distress, were enough to damp the spirits of the sailors. Therefore they were speedily embarked in the long-boat and yawl.

About ten in the morning the vessel began to part, which stimulated Pelsart to new exertions to save the bread and other provisions ; but, trusting to obtain plenty water on the island, it was not thought necessary to preserve what was on board. The embarrassment resulting from the calamities of shipwreck, was now severely aggravated by the conduct of the crew, of whom many having wine within their reach, got themselves brutally intoxicated. Thus, not above three trips to the shore could be effected that day, in the course of which about 180 persons, 20 casks of bread, and some kegs of water were landed. But these articles were heedlessly consumed by the crew immediately on arriving, which rendered it requisite for the commander himself to go thither and repress disorder ; and then he first ascertained that the island was destitute of water.

Pelsart anxiously hastened off to the wreck to save what was of such essential importance, and also to transport the more costly merchandize ashore. However, a violent gale forced him back nearly to the spot whence he had departed ; and several successive attempts were equally abortive, for the sea ran so high it was impossible to get on

board. A seaman who ventured to swim to the boat by a rope, amidst all the danger, represented the extreme necessity of the others for his aid; but in vain, for destruction would have followed, and he was obliged to send him back by the same means, with injunctions to make a raft of the loose planks of the wreck, whereby they might reach the boats. Meanwhile the storm augmented, and, as sacrificing his own life would be of no use to those who implored his assistance, Pelsart was obliged, with unspeakable regret, to return to the island, leaving a lieutenant and sixty men to perish.

Yet those who were preserved considered themselves scarce more fortunate; for, on examining into the state of the water saved in the smaller island, there proved to be only about twenty pints for the use of forty persons, who composed the party. Still less was found on the larger island, which about an hundred and eighty persons had gained. Pelsart had landed on the former, where the people represented the importance of speedily searching for water in the other islands in the vicinity, which he acknowledged was a just request, but said, that he could not think of embarking on any excursion without his design being communicated to the people of the larger island, who would believe themselves abandoned by the departure of the long-boat and yawl. He had much difficulty, however, in impressing his comrades with these generous sentiments, for they dreaded that, should he himself go to that island, the people would detain him among them. Yet, on hearing him declare that he would sooner perish in sight of the wreck, than leave the greater part of his friends and people in so cruel a state of uncertainty, they

consented to his wishes. He embarked in the yawl, therefore, but, on approaching the island, his comrades refused to allow him to go ashore, observing, that if he had any thing to communicate, he might cry aloud, and prevented him from leaping overboard, which he attempted to do. Pelsart being under the necessity of yielding to those around him, resolved to throw his memorandum-book to the island, after writing in it that he was going on an excursion in the yawl, for the purpose of procuring water, wheresoever Heaven should direct him.

Pelsart next coasted along the rocks and shores of several islets, where he found nothing except sea-water, which had been dashed into the hollows of the rocks by the violence of the surf, and was unfit to relieve his wants; and it soon became necessary to return to the small island, that a kind of deck might be put on the long boat, as a more extensive navigation could not be safely undertaken in an open vessel.

From an altitude now taken, Pelsart ascertained his situation to be $28^{\circ} 13'$, and having obtained an approval of his proceedings by the whole of the shipwrecked people, he departed. He speedily came in sight of a shore, which he supposed that of a continent, bearing, as he guessed, about six miles north-west of the place of the shipwreck; and sounded in twenty-five or thirty fathoms water. As night approached he stood off, but again approaching at dawn, he was within three miles of it at nine o'clock. This coast appeared low, naked, and rocky, resembling, in respect of height, the coast of Dover. He discovered a small sandy bay, which the badness of the weather precluded

him from entering. Next day he continued along the same coast, but the sea ran so high, that he was under the necessity of throwing overboard a quantity of provisions, which obstructed the people in baling out the water, constantly washing into the boat.


On the 11th of June, the wind having fallen, Pelsart steered to the north, avoiding the breakers, which endangered an approach towards the land; and on the 12th he ascertained that he was in 27° of south latitude. For several succeeding days he cautiously followed the same course, the coast consisting of lofty precipitous rocks of a red colour, without any opening through the breakers: and the inland part of the country appearing verdant and fertile. In $25^{\circ} 40'$ he made an unsuccessful attempt to land.

Currents setting to the north, in latitude 24° , rendered access to the coast still more difficult; but the view of smoke at a distance induced Pelsart to have recourse to his oars, from confidently expecting water in a place inhabited by men. Yet the surf ran so high that landing seemed impracticable. Amidst this cruel disappointment, six seamen, trusting to their own address, leaped into the water, and, with the utmost hazard, swam ashore, while the boat cast anchor waiting the issue. They occupied the whole day in searching for water, and, in the course of it, descried four men crawling on their hands and feet, like so many quadrupeds, towards them; nor could they have recognized them for men, had not some alarm prompted them to rise and take to flight. These savages were black and perfectly naked. The six Dutchmen, unable to discover any indications whatever of water, swam out to the boat, after being severely

bruised and lacerated by the waves dashing them against the rocks.

Notwithstanding the danger to be apprehended from the breakers, Pelsart still coasted along, and, on the 15th of June, reached a cape, whence a reef of rocks stretched a mile into the sea. He made two attempts to land, which again proved abortive, but at length got safely ashore on a sandy beach, and began to dig pits for fresh water. What rose in them was as salt as the sea. However, some residue of rain that had fallen was found in holes in the rocks, which proved a great relief to the mariners, now parched with thirst, from having been reduced to a very scanty allowance for several days past. Before night they collected about 150 pints, and resolved, at all events, to return in the morning for more. Ashes and shellfish seen in this spot, shewed that it was frequented by savages, who had recently been there.

Their hopes of adding to their store of water were disappointed, for so long a drought had prevailed, that other holes in the rocks, even the deepest, contained none. A vast arid plain, void of trees and herbage, extended inland: nothing was seen but numbers of conical ant hills, of such size as at a distance to resemble the huts of natives. Multitudes of flies also annoyed the people, who could hardly protect themselves from them. Eight savages were seen, who fled at the approach of the mariners. Thus, despairing to find water here, they abandoned the reef, expecting to reach Jacob Remmessens River; but, being in south latitude $22^{\circ} 17'$, with a north-east wind, and environed by new difficulties, they considered that the best use that could be made of the water which had been collected, was trying to gain Batavia



with all possible expedition. They set sail, therefore, now at an hundred leagues from the place of the shipwreck, confident of obtaining every degree of succour for those whom they had left behind on the islands.

From the 17th of June, Pelsart steered a north-east course, with a fair wind and good weather. Strong currents prevailing, carried him far to the north, which, added to the heavy rains, which precluded any astronomical observation, involved him in embarrassing uncertainty, while traversing that unfrequented region. But, on the 27th of June, the weather clearing up, he came in sight of the island of Java, only four or five miles distant ; and the following morning, the people being again almost perishing with thirst, landed in quest of water. A rivulet close to the shore afforded a seasonable supply, and having there drank copiously, and likewise filled their casks, they continued their progress towards Batavia. A few days longer brought them to the end of their voyage, where no time was lost in granting the assistance which Pelsart demanded for his shipwrecked companions. But, while thus engaged, a tragical scene was passing among those unfortunate persons in the island where he had left them, to which it is now necessary to return.

Jerome Corneliz, a supercargo, but formerly an apothecary in Haarlem, had entered into a conspiracy, along with some others, while on the coast of Africa, to make themselves masters of the vessel and turn pirates. At the time of the shipwreck he floated two complete days on the main-mast unable to get ashore, and, while inevitable death stared him in the face, a yard fortunately coming within his reach, enabled him to gain one of the

islands. In the absence of Pelsart the command devolved upon him, when, far from repenting his meditated perfidy, he considered the present only as a favourable opportunity for putting it in execution. He thought that, without great difficulty, he might render himself master of what could be preserved from the wreck, and that he could easily take the captain by surprise on his return, and seize his vessel. But, first of all, he judged it necessary to rid himself of those from whom he dreaded opposition to his enterprize, though, before imbruing his hands in blood, he made his accomplices subscribe an engagement of implicit obedience to his orders.

Most of the crew on the island where Corneliz had arrived, surely entertained a strong presentiment of their fate, for they had already named it the burying-place of the *Batavia*. Apprehending greatest resistance from a young and enterprising officer, called *Weybhays*, he sent him to the other island under the pretext of seeking water, and, fearing less from the rest, immediately, on his departure, murdered thirty or forty of their number, who had not the slightest suspicion of his design. Some escaping this merciless massacre, contrived to float on pieces of the wreck to the place that *Weybhays* had gained, and acquainted him with it; and he, never calling in question but that he was destined for the same fate, prepared to resist the murderers. Forty men were with him, and, after a painful examination, he found fresh water by digging two wells, which the better enabled him to guard against the cruelty of his savage countrymen. This they fully intended to exercise, but, not deeming themselves strong enough to do it openly, in the meantime proceeded to attack and massacre all

those unfortunate persons who had originally found an asylum from the shipwreck on one of the barren islets in view, except five women and seven children. One of the former Corneliz reserved to himself, the second, the chaplain's daughter, he bestowed on his lieutenant, and the other three were abandoned to his licentious crew. Corneliz then broke up the chests of merchandize that had been saved from the ship, and plundered their contents. He distributed a military uniform of scarlet and gold lace among his adherents, chose a guard for himself, and, by a general declaration of the whole, caused them elect him their commander.

These things accomplished, Corneliz sent twenty-two men in the boats to attack Weybhays and his party ; but this detachment being repulsed, he resolved to go on the enterprise himself with thirty-seven men, who were all that his two boats could contain. However, he was so warmly received by Weybhays, whose only arms were sticks with nails in the end, that he was compelled to retreat. Finding it impossible to succeed by force, the murderers tried to gain their purpose by stratagem, and proposed a negotiation, to which Weybhays readily assenting, the chaplain, who was along with him, was entrusted with drawing the articles of it. The conditions were few and simple ; that Corneliz should abstain from giving the party of Weybhays any annoyance ; that he should deliver a portion of the clothing he had taken for his people ; and that both should jointly go in search of water and provisions, and divide any that were obtained equally between them : as also, that Weybhays should restore a small boat with which one of Corneliz's men had de-

serted to his island. But while this treaty was proceeding with every semblance of candour, Corneliz secretly wrote to some French soldiers, of Weybhays' party, offering each a bribe of 6000 livres, in hopes that information from them would enable him to surprise his enemies. They, however, disclosed this proposal to Weybhays, who resolved to oppose artifice to the treachery. The following day being appointed for ratification of the treaty, Corneliz, thinking himself undiscovered, fearlessly went ashore with three or four of his people, carrying stuffs for the clothes along with him. Though allowed to land without opposition, he was quickly seized and secured, when the rest of his troop, enraged at the fate of their chief, made several fruitless attempts to rescue him.

The contention that had arose, appears to have continued still longer, which was the more surprising, from the parties having at the same time to combat both hunger and thirst; and it is difficult to say when this warfare would have ended. But Pelsart, who had used the utmost dispatch, though two months were consumed in the business, at length left Batavia in a frigate called the *Serdam*. Favourable winds soon completed the voyage, and he found with little difficulty a spot only too well impressed on his imagination, by the misfortune he had suffered.

Smoke, which Pelsart saw rising from one of the islands, consoled him with the knowledge of some of his people being alive; and fortunately he was immediately seen by Weybhays. This generous Dutchman repaired on board the *Serdam*, recounting the miseries which had occurred, and the plan of the conspirators to seize his person. Pelsart,

during the conversation, discovered two boats advancing before the wind to his vessel, and descried, with extreme surprise, that they were full of armed men in laced uniform. Putting himself in a state of defence, he demanded, when within hail, the reason of this hostile array; to which the lieutenant, appointed by Corneliz, called Waterlos, commanding them, answered, that as soon as they came on board they should explain their motives. But Pelsart ordered them instantly to throw their arms overboard, threatening to sink the boats in the event of refusal. Obligated to obey, the conspirators parted with their arms, and Pelsart, along with Weybhays, took care, immediately on their entering the ship, to put them in irons. One of their officers, a wretch named John of Bremen, still ventured to menace those employed in securing him; and, being interrogated before the rest, confessed, that, of 125 persons who were put to death, he had murdered 27 with his own hand.

On the 15th of September, Corneliz being also previously secured in the frigate, Pelsart sent a detachment in his boats to seize the remainder of the conspirators. Though they were thirty in number, and by their resistance might have created some embarrassment, they quietly submitted to be put in irons.

These matters being successfully transacted, the following days were occupied in endeavouring to recover a great quantity of valuable commodities dispersed throughout the island; and every thing, excepting a gold chain, was found. Pelsart then repaired to the wreck of his unfortunate vessel, which was now utterly destroyed: the keel lay on one part of the sand, a portion of the forecastle on another, and numerous fragments were scattered about elsewhere. He entertained little expecta-

tion, therefore, of saving the riches with which she had been laden, until told by a sailor, that, when fishing about a month before that time, he had struck a pike against what he supposed a chest of treasure. Pelsart employed several Guzarat divers, whom he had brought along with him, to descend in search of it on a clear day ; and they brought up five chests in tolerable condition. They would have recovered more, had it not been for the badness of the weather ; and he contented himself with leaving a cannon and an anchor to mark the place. A cold and vehement wind from the south interrupted his operations, and induced Pelsart to make speedy preparations for departing to Batavia.

But so great a number of prisoners in the ship exciting apprehension, he summoned his council to deliberate whether they should be tried there or carried to Batavia. The necessity of the case prevailed over the regular form of reserving them for the judgment of the supreme tribunal of Batavia only ; and the crimes being too atrocious to require any further proof or exposure, all those who had been guilty were condemned to die. They were executed in the evening, and next morning Pelsart resumed his voyage.

The south-west coast of New Holland is begirt with daggers: rocks, shoals, and numerous islets, all contribute to embarrass the navigator. It does not appear that the position and extent of Houtman's Abrolhos are exactly ascertained ; for although Pelsart's shipwreck is not the only one which has happened upon them, the conveniences for observation have been wanting, or mariners, deterred by their menacing aspect, have been con-

tent with viewing from a distance. They are situated between 28° and 29° of south latitude, and consist of ten or twelve low-lying round islands, connected together by reefs of a reddish colour, on which the sea breaks with great violence. An English navigator, in 1681, computed that they tended twenty miles in length; and the people of the ship *Zeewyk*, which was cast away there in 1727, judged them to be between 32 and 36 miles from the mainland of New Holland; but the French, in a cursory view from some distance in 1801, thought them about 21 miles from it. Particular circumstances prevented the latter from visiting this formidable shoal, and laying down its precise longitude and latitude, which is much to be regretted, as there is little probability of a voyage similar to theirs being soon undertaken. The people of the *Zeewyk* found the remains of wrecks in the neighbourhood, but were unable to discover water, as Pelsart had done from the wreck of their own vessel they built a shallop, wherein they reached Batavia.

The vast continent of New Holland must now be viewed with particular interest, both from its natural productions, and its importance as a colony to Great Britain. It is inhabited by a singular race of mankind, different in conformation and manners from those of all the world besides, and reduced to the lowest state of barbarity of any known savages. It was people of this description whom Pelsart transiently saw in 1629, whom Dampier afterwards more fully examined in the course of his voyages along the coast, and who are now familiar to us in every respect from our extensive settlements in their country.

PRESERVATION OF EIGHT SEAMEN

ACCIDENTALLY LEFT IN GREENLAND, 1630*.

On the 1st of May 1630, the *Salutation* of London sailed from that port, along with other two vessels, under command of Captain Goodler, for the Greenland whale fishery, and arrived at the place of her destination on the 11th of June.

The *Salutation*, after preparing her casks, shallops, and whatever else was requisite for commencing the fishery, left the *Foreland* for *Green Harbour*, there to take in twenty men who had been transferred into one or the other vessels. Being about five leagues from a place of the coast famed for the abundance and quality of venison, eight men were sent ashore in a shallop to hunt on the 15th of August. They carried a couple of dogs, a matchlock, two lances, and a tinder box along with them, and were so successful as to kill fourteen deer in the course of the same day. As they were now extremely fatigued, first with rowing ashore,

* All the most northern regions are called Greenland by English seamen; but the wintering place of this narrative was on the western shores of Spitzbergen. That island being frequently resorted to in prosecution of the whale fishery, many points, bays, and inlets have received names, and their geographical position is well known. It is probable that the *Salutation* was commanded by a Captain Mason.

and secondly with following the game, they refreshed themselves with provisions brought from the ship, and agreed, after resting that night, to finish their sport next day, and return. But hazy weather coming on, and much ice driving between the ship and the land, she was forced to stand out to sea for safety, and the mariners entirely lost sight of her. Uncertain whether or not she might be hemmed in by the ice, and the weather still becoming more hazy, they concluded it most prudent to hunt by the shore towards Green Harbour, and remain along with the twenty men on board of another vessel.

In this course they killed eight deer more, and the shallop, well loaded with venison, proceeded towards Green Harbour.

On arriving there, the people, to their great astonishment, found that both the twenty men and their own ship had sailed; and their departure appeared yet more unaccountable from the scantiness of provisions, which they knew were insufficient for a voyage home.

The time for Greenlandmen leaving the coast being limited to the 20th of August, the people, in the next place, considered it expedient to make the best of their way to Bell Sound, the place of rendezvous, about sixteen leagues to the southward. Accordingly, for greater expedition, they lightened the shallop by throwing the venison overboard; but, wanting a compass, and thick weather prevailing, they beat about several days, uncertain of the proper navigation.

At length, having made Bell Point, the mariners quickly got ashore, and dispatched two of their number, about ten miles over land, to a tent erected at Bell Sound, for the purpose of ascertain-

ing whether any ships were still remaining, which they greatly doubted, both on account of the limited time having elapsed, and from a fair wind for a voyage having sprung up. Their apprehensions were unfortunately realized,—no ships were in the sound: but they still entertained hopes that they might be in Bottle-Cove, whither, in the agitation of being entirely deserted, they hastily repaired.

Here they experienced the like disappointment, now aggravated by conviction of the necessity of wintering in a cold, inhospitable, and desolate region, for which they were devoid of every thing required. Neither did they forget, that, when the merchants of former times had offered all that could be desired for convenience, besides a liberal reward, to any who should venture to winter in Greenland, none were found to make the trial. They had likewise heard that the Muscovy merchants had, on a certain occasion, obtained a reprieve for some malefactors condemned to death, on condition that they should remain a year in Greenland. There all necessaries of clothes and provisions were to be provided, and an ample remuneration bestowed for accomplishing the specified term. The proposal was gladly accepted, and the criminals embarked: but having reached the end of the voyage, and viewed the place of their banishment, they were inspired with such horror, that they rejected the proffered alternative, rather preferring death in England than lingering in misery here. Thus communicating their resolution to the captain who had brought them to Greenland, they were carried home. Through his intercession, however, seconded by that of the Muscovy merchants, instead of being executed on their

return, they received a pardon. These incidents made a deep impression on the mariners; and another, more alarming than either, also occupied their reflection:—Nine seamen had formerly been abandoned in the same place by the master of their ship, all of whom came to a miserable end: and their bodies were shockingly disfigured by beasts of prey. Besides, they were now altogether unsheltered from the inclemency of the season; destitute of sufficient clothes to keep them warm, and unprovided with provisions of every description.

But after recovering from the amazement and depression attending so unexpected a misfortune, they resolved to bear up against it like men, and adopt whatever means were in their power for preservation. By general consent, they sailed for Green Harbour, about sixteen leagues distant, which, with a fair and fresh breeze, they reached in twelve hours.

There they hastened to pitch a kind of tent, made of the sail of the shallop, supported by oars, and tried to obtain rest under it during night. The clearness of the weather, however, and other favourable circumstances, induced them to rise betimes in pursuit of deer at some little distance. Having killed seven, and four bears, in the course of the day, the whole of which were intended for subsistence, they returned to Green Harbour, reposing in their tent as before.

This proceeding was followed with equal success for several days subsequent, when the mariners, having found another boat on the beach, loaded it and their own with the provisions for a voyage to Bell Sound, where they proposed to establish themselves for winter quarters.

After their arrival, a south-west wind unluckily brought a heavy swell, which drove the boats from their grapnel, and both sunk near the shore, whereby all the provisions were wet or floating in the sea. Necessity forced the mariners to rush immediately into the water to recover as much as possible, and then reaching the boats, drew them as far as they could on the land by main strength.

A kind of hut had been erected by the Dutch in Bell Sound for coopers employed in the whale fishery, of which the mariners now took possession. It was eighty feet long, and fifty broad, consisting of timber, with a roof of tyles : another smaller hut stood at some distance, which they took down for the purpose of building a compartment within the larger one. This, with considerable labour, was accomplished, and a quantity of wood laid in for fuel.

Meantime it was expedient to secure a sufficient store of provisions to serve the necessities of the people ; and two sea-horses being observed asleep on the ice on the 14th of September, they were struck with harpoons. These animals proved to be an old one and its cub : but the latter, though the mother was dead, would not leave it, and continued swimming about until also killed by the mariners. They were carried ashore, skinned, and pieces of their flesh roasted.

As there was little chance of obtaining supplies, more than occasionally killing a straggling bear, an exact survey was made of all the provisions ; and finding the quantity too small to last through the winter, the people agreed to restrict themselves to one reasonable meal daily. On Wednesday and Friday they were to consume nothing except whale fritters or greaves, which are scraps of fat thrown

away after the oil is extracted ; and thus they subsisted for three months.

To mend their clothes and shoes, which were all wore out or tore at the lapse of that period, they made thread of rope-yarn, and needles of whale-bone. The nights now began to grow very long, and the cold became so intense that the sea was quite frozen over. From the 14th day of October the sun sunk entirely below the horizon, and, in the irksome time occasioned by his absence, the mariners had leisure to reflect on their friends, wives, and children at home, and their own desolate condition. Sometimes they would accuse their captain for having abandoned them, and at other times pity his fate, from believing that he had perished miserably among the ice.

Nevertheless they were still obliged to watch carefully over the extent of their stores ; and, lest fuel might fail towards the end of the year, they daily roasted half a deer, which was put into casks that had also been found ashore. But shortly discovering that the whale fritters were spoiling and growing mouldy, and that the bears flesh and venison would admit of only five meals a-week, they reduced their allowance to living four days on the fritters, and the other three on the flesh.

The sun remained below the horizon, and perpetual night prevailed from the first of December until the first of January, when a kind of twilight began. But the moon was in view both day and night all this time, shining as bright during clear weather as she appears in England. Yet during the interval the mariners were constantly uncertain of the passing hours, and the obscurity of the heavens in general precluded them from seeing the moon. They sought means, however, of preserving a light in the hut, by mak-

ing three lamps of a piece of sheet-lead ripped off a cooler. Rope-yarn served for wicks; and they found a quantity of oil in the cooper's tent, which they converted to present use. Thus a lamp was kept continually burning.

Sometimes the sufferings of the mariners led them again to reproach the authors of their misfortunes; but a little reflection taught them, that, if inflicted as a punishment, it was merited by their sins; and they comforted themselves, on the other hand, by hopes, that their deliverance was to be reserved as an example of God's mercy. Therefore they regularly prayed two or three times a-day while remaining in this desolate condition.

As the new year commenced, the cold became more intense; and its severity gradually augmented, until blisters would rise on the people's flesh as if they had been burnt with fire; and if they chanced to touch iron, it would stick to their fingers like bird-lime. Sometimes the extreme cold had such an extraordinary effect, on short exposure to it, that they would feel as if they had been cruelly beaten.

Meanwhile they contrived to procure fresh water, which was discharged from a cliff under thick ice; but from the 10th of January, nothing except snow-water could be obtained, until the 20th of May, from snow melted by hot irons.

The weather being clear, though excessively cold, on the 3d of February the seamen were gladdened by the return of the sun, whose beams gilded the tops of the lofty mountains. On the same day a she-bear and her cub appeared, making their way directly to the hut, whereupon the people hastened to prepare their lances. Awaiting the approach of the animals, and then rushing

against them, they killed the old one, but the cub escaped; she was quickly dragged into the hut, and, being flayed, served twenty days for fresh provisions. The people relished the flesh even more than venison. However, after eating the liver, all fell sick, and their skin peeled off, though none died; and the health of some was afterwards recruited. Not less than forty bears visited the hut in the same manner, of which seven were killed, and afforded such an abundant supply, that the seamen enlarged their allowance to two, and sometimes three meals a-day. The flesh was roasted on a wooden spit, and, by feeding so copiously upon it, they became much stronger; nor was this the only supply, for they caught fifty foxes which were also roasted. Numbers of sea-fowl were likewise taken, and plenty of their eggs.

The sea-fowl periodically resorted to the coast to breed, and then the foxes, which had during winter kept in burrows under the rocks, began to rove abroad in quest of them for prey. Traps were made by the mariners, baited with the skins of fowls found on the snow, in which the foxes were taken; and a kind of snares were set for the birds themselves. On the 24th of May, a deer was seen; but the only remaining dog had grown so fat and lazy, that it could not be caught: the other had strayed from the hut some time before, and was lost.

The mariners daily repaired to the top of a mountain when the weather would admit, trying to discover whether the open sea was in view, but nothing except ice had for long appeared. On the 24th of May, however, the same day that they hunted the deer, the ice seemed to have dis-

persed, but a strong easterly wind confined them on the twenty-fifth to their hut.

Being all but one, Thomas Ayers, collected together to prayers in the smaller hut, they suddenly heard voices calling *Hey*, to which Ayers, not without surprise, answered, after the custom of seamen, *Ho!* • Mutual explanations soon followed, from which the mariners discovered, that two Hull ships had arrived in Bell Sound, where they obtained access by the wind driving out the ice the day preceding. The master of one knowing that some mariners had been left there, manned a shallop, and gave the crew instructions to march over land, and endeavour to learn what had become of them. Finding the boat drawn up on the beach, and some lances in it, they thought they might possibly survive, and advanced towards the hut unperceived. When the mariners heard voices, they quickly issued forth; and the strangers were not a little astonished to see a number of people in rags, and quite blackened with smoke. However, they were there entertained with venison, roasted four months before, and a cup of cold water, which, on account of the novelty, they willingly accepted.

The mariners now had the joyful intelligence of the Greenland fleet being immediately expected, and, on the 28th of May, it actually arrived. Captain William Goodler treated them with great kindness and liberality, sparing no means which might promote their comfort, and giving them apparel besides, to the value of twenty pounds. After fourteen days ease and refreshment, the whole perfectly recovered their health, and, having embarked in different ships of the fleet on the

20th of August, reached the river Thames in safety.

The names of the persons thus preserved, were William Fakeley, gunner; Edward Pelham, gunner's mate; John Wise, Robert Goodfellow, seamen; Thomas Ayers, whale-cutter; Henry Bett, cooper; John Dawes, Richard Kellet, landsmen. The second of these, Edward Pelham, wrote the narrative of their hardships.

In drawing a comparison between the severities which they endured in wintering here, with those which the Dutch suffered in Nova Zembla, the mariners considered that circumstances were greatly in favour of the latter. Their place of residence was in 67° north latitude, whereas that of the English was $77^{\circ} 40'$; the former had abundance of clothes and provisions, and a surgeon to prescribe for their health; but the English had scanty apparel, much loathsome food, and no medical aid. Therefore, taking the food, clothes, lodging, and other things in view, they concluded their own preservation infinitely more surprising than that of the Dutch seamen.

FATE OF SEVEN SAILORS

LEFT IN THE ISLAND OF ST MAURICE, 1633; AND
OF OTHER SEVEN SAILORS LEFT IN SPITZBER-
GEN, 1634.

THE Dutch who frequented the northern regions during the more favourable season of the year, in pursuit of the whale-fishery, became desirous of ascertaining the state of different places while winter prevailed. Various opinions were entertained concerning this subject, and astronomers wished to have their sentiments regarding certain natural phenomena, either realized or controverted. Besides, a more important object was concealed under these ostensible reasons, namely, whether the establishment of permanent colonies in the most remote parts of Greenland was practicable. A proposal was therefore promulgated through the Greenland fleet, for seven seamen to offer to remain a winter in St Maurice's Island; and also for other seven to winter in Spitzbergen. We are not acquainted with the inducements held forth; but it is probable that little hesitation ensued, for we find a party prepared to winter at the different places specified, nearly about the same period.

Seven of the stoutest and ablest men of the fleet having accordingly agreed to be left behind, their

comrades sailed from St Maurice's Isle on the 26th of August 1633. Their names were *Outgert Jacobson*, commander; *Adrian Martin Carman*, clerk; *Thauniss Thaunissen*, cook; *Dick Peterson*, *Peter Peterson*, *Sebastian Gyse*, and *Gerard Beautin*.

The people, two days afterwards, shared half a pound of tobacco, to which they restricted themselves as a weekly allowance. At this time there was no night, and the heat of the sun so powerful through the day, that they pulled off their shirts, and sported on the side of a hill near their abode. Great abundance of sea-gulls frequented the island, and the seamen made a constant practice of seeking for vegetables growing there for sallad.

Towards the end of September, the weather began to be tempestuous, and, in the earlier part of October, their huts were so much shaken by violent storms of wind, that their nightly rest was interrupted; but they did not resort to firing until the 9th of that month. About a week subsequent, two whales were cast ashore, and the seamen immediately endeavoured to kill them with harpoons, lances, and cutlasses, but the tide flowing enabled them to escape.

As winter advanced, bears became so numerous, that the people durst scarce venture abroad from their huts towards night; but in the day time some were occasionally killed, which they roasted. Several of these animals were so strong, however, that they would run off after being shot through. A great many gulls were also seen on the sea-side which retired every night to the mountains their usual place of retreat.

The first of January 1634, was ushered in with dark and frosty weather; the seamen, after wish-

ing each other a happy new year, and good success in their enterprize, went to prayers. Two bears approached very near their huts, but the darkness of the day, and the depth of the snow, rendered it impossible to take them; not long afterwards, the seamen were more successful, and, having shot one, dragged it into a hut, where they skinned it. From the 1st of February these animals became very shy, and were seldom seen.

In the month of March all the people were attacked by scurvy, owing to the scarcity of fresh provisions, and their spirits sunk with the progress of the disease; only two were in health on the 3d of April, while the rest were extremely ill. Two pullets were at their request killed for them, no more being left; and as their appetites were pretty good, the others entertained hopes of their convalescence. The whole seldom left their hut to examine the appearance of the sea, or the surrounding country; but, on the 15th, they observed four whales in a neighbouring bay.

The clerk was now very ill, and died on the 16th, whereupon the surviving mariners invoked Heaven to have mercy on his soul, and also on themselves, for they suffered severely. No fresh provisions whatever were left, and they daily grew worse, partly from want of necessary articles, and partly from the excessive cold. Even when in health they could scarce keep themselves in heat by exercise; and when sick, and unable to stir from their huts, that remedy was at an end. Disease made rapid progress among these unfortunate people, so that on the 23d not more than one individual could give an account of the rest, which is done in these words of his journal: "We are by this time reduced to a deplorable state, none of my

comrades being able to help himself, much less another; the whole burden, therefore, lies on my shoulders, and I shall perform my duty as well as I am able, so long as it pleases God to give me strength. I am just now about to assist our commander out of his cabin; he thinks it will relieve his pain, for he is struggling with death. The night is dark, and wind blowing from the south."

Meantime, the Dutch, who repaired in the summer season to Greenland, became impatient to learn the fate of the seven men left in the Isle of St Maurice. Some of the seamen got into a boat immediately on their arrival, on the 4th of June 1634, and hastened towards the huts. Yet, from none of the others having come to the sea side to welcome them, they presaged nothing good; and accordingly found that all the unfortunate men had breathed their last. The first, as has been seen, expired on the 16th of April 1634, and his comrades, having put his body in a coffin, deposited it in one of the huts. The remainder were conjectured to have died about the beginning of May, from a journal kept by them, expressing that, on the 27th of April, they had killed their dog for want of fresh provisions, and from its termination on the last of this month.

Near one of the bodies stood some bread and cheese, on which the mariner had perhaps subsisted immediately preceding his decease; a box of ointment lay beside the cabin of another, with which he had rubbed his teeth and joints, and his arm was still extended towards his mouth. A prayer-book, which he had been reading, also lay near him. Each of the men was found in his own cabin.

The commodore of the Greenland fleet having got this melancholy intelligence, ordered the six

bodies to be put into coffins, and, along with the seventh, deposited beneath the snow. Afterwards, when the earth thawed, they were removed; and interred, on St John's day, under a general discharge of the cannon of the fleet.

SEAMEN WINTERING IN SPITZBERGEN.—On the 30th of August 1633, the Dutch fleet sailed from *North-Bay*, in Spitzbergen, leaving seven men behind, who had agreed to winter there. Immediately, on departure of the vessels, they began to collect a sufficient quantity of provisions to serve their necessities until their comrades should return in the subsequent year. Therefore, at different times, they hunted rein-deer with success, and caught many sea-fowl; and also occasionally got herbs, which proved very salutary.

Excursions both by sea and land were frequently made when the weather would permit; and they endeavoured to kill whales and narwhals in the different bays on the east coast of Spitzbergen.

The extreme cold of the climate was announced by the disappearance of all the feathered tribe on the third of October, and from that time it gradually augmented. On the 13th their casks of beer were frozen three inches thick, and very soon afterwards, though standing within eight feet of the fire, they froze from top to bottom. The seamen had broke the ice on the sea, and disposed a net for catching fish below it; but the rigour of the weather constantly increasing, the ice formed a foot thick at the surface in the space of two hours.

From the excessive cold, they remained almost constantly in bed, and, notwithstanding they had both a grate and a stove, they were sometimes

obliged to rise and take violent exercise to keep themselves in heat.

Beautiful phenomena appeared in the sky during winter, consisting of the Aurora Borealis; of surprising splendour and magnitude, and other meteors, seeming to arise from the icy mountains.

On the third of March the mariners had an encounter with a monstrous bear, in which one of them very nearly perished. The animal became furious from its wounds; leaping against a seaman, about to pierce it with his lance, it threw him down, and, but for the opportune interposition of another, would have tore him to pieces.

At length, after suffering many hardships and privations, the mariners were gladdened with the sight of a boat rowing into the bay, on the 27th of May 1634, announcing the return of a Dutch Greenlandman, which anchored there the same evening.

The Dutch, encouraged by the safety of this party, proposed that other seven people, provided with all necessaries, should pass the following winter in their place; and, accordingly, Andrew Johnson, Cornelius Thyse, Jerome Carcoen, Tiebke Jellis, Nicolas Florison, Adrian Johnson, and Fettje Otters, offered to remain.

The fleet, therefore, sailed for Holland on the 11th of September 1634, leaving these men behind. Numbers of whales were in sight of Spitzbergen on the same day, which the people made an unsuccessful attempt to catch.

Towards the end of November, scurvy beginning to appear among them, they carefully sought for green herbs, but in vain: nor were they more fortunate in the pursuit of bears and foxes for fresh provisions. However, they drank some potions

and took other antidotes against the disease, and then set traps for foxes.

A bear being discovered on the 24th of November, three of the people eagerly proceeded to attack it, for their necessities were daily becoming greater. The animal, rising to receive them on its hind legs, was shot through the body, whereupon it began to bleed and roar most hideously, and fiercely bit a halbert. But, likely to be overpowered, it took to flight, and was anxiously pursued by the people a long way, carrying lanthorns, though unsuccessfully; and they were all much dispirited from the disappointment of fresh provision, which they so much required.

On the 14th of January, Adrian Johnson died. The whole of the rest were extremely ill. Fettje Otters died next day, and also Cornelius Thyse on the 17th, a man in whom his comrades rested their chief hope next to God.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the survivors, who could scarce support themselves on their legs, they contrived to make three coffins for the deceased, and put their bodies into them.

In the beginning of February they had the good fortune to catch a fox, an incident which afforded them much satisfaction; but at that time disease had gone too far to admit their deriving material benefit from the flesh. Many bears, even six or ten together, were seen; but the people had not strength to manage their guns, nor, had it been otherwise, were they able to pursue them. Now they were seized with excruciating pains about the loins and belly, which were aggravated by cold. One spit blood, and another was afflicted with a bloody flux; yet Jerome Carcoen could still bring in fuel to keep up the fires.

The sun had disappeared on the 20th of October, nor was he seen again until the 24th of February, when the mariners were so weak as to be constantly confined to their cabins. Two days after, they ceased to be able to write, at that time expressing themselves in a journal thus; "Four of us who still survive, lie flat on the floor of our hut. We think we could still eat, were there only one among us able to get fuel, but none can move for pain; our time is spent in constant prayer, that God, in his mercy, would deliver us from this misery: we are ready whenever he pleases to call us. Assuredly we cannot long survive without food or firing; we are unable to assist each other in our mutual afflictions, and each must bear his own burden."

The seamen of the Dutch fleet arriving at Spitzbergen, in 1635, hastened to inquire after the fate of their comrades; and having found their hut all closed around as a protection against wild beasts, they broke open the back door. A man then entering, ran up stairs, where he discovered part of a dead dog on the floor, laid there to dry, and quickly descending, trod on the carcase of another dog also dead. Thence passing towards the front door, he stumbled in the dark over several dead bodies, which, after the door was opened, were seen lying together. Three were in coffins; Nicholas Florison and another, each in a cabin; and the other two on some sails covering the floor, lying with their knees drawn up to their chins. Therefore the whole of these unfortunate people had perished.

Coffins were prepared for the four bodies wanting them, and all were buried under the snow, un-

til the ground became more penetrable, when they were deposited in the earth beside each other, and stones laid on their graves, to preserve them from ravenous beasts of prey.

The Isle of St Maurice, more commonly called *Mayen's Island*, from John Mayen the discoverer, lies between 71° and 72° of north latitude. It extends from fifty to sixty miles in length, and is only half a mile in breadth in the narrowest place; it is uninhabited, barren, mountainous, and covered with snow. A lofty mountain, called *Beerensberg*, traverses almost the whole of the broadest or northern end.

Although this island is of inconsiderable extent, the Dutch formerly drew great revenues from the Greenland fishery prosecuted there. No less than 2000 quintals of oil were produced from the captures of a single season, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was a sufficient inducement for attempting to establish a colony upon it. But the whales, perpetually harassed and pursued, retreated to other regions, and the Dutch found it necessary to abandon that quarter of the fishery, after having built huts and furnaces requisite for extracting the oil on the island.

Several facts respecting Spitzbergen have already appeared, and others will occur in the course of future narratives. The extreme rigour of the climate has not proved so invariably disastrous as to the seven unfortunate seamen who voluntarily ventured on wintering there; yet it is such as to resist the ordinary courses of nature, and there is scarce any putrefaction of the dead, as in more temperate climates. The bodies of the seven suf-

ferers are said to have been found quite entire thirty years after their decease, and as if the breath had just left them. Every inanimate substance around, that had contributed to their use when alive, was also in the same entire condition.

SHIPWRECK OF THE SPITZBERGEN,

1639.

CAPTAIN DIDIER ALBERT RÆVN, after a successful voyage in a Dutch whale ship, arrived at the icy coasts of Spitzbergen in the year 1639, where he was assailed by a furious tempest. The violence of the gale, and the proximity of shoals of ice, rendered it impossible to manœuvre the vessel; and several other whale ships, steering the same course, found themselves in the like dangerous predicament. A thick fall of snow prevented the seamen from seeing ahead of the vessel to steer her; and the yards often dipped from the rolling of the ship. The deck was so completely covered with ice, that it was almost impossible to walk on it from slipperiness, and from the heeling of the ship; but, to preserve the people from falling, the captain scattered salt on the smoothest places. Amidst these dangers the sheet-anchor broke loose, and was lost overboard.

The ship, driving all day before the wind, approached the solid ice towards evening: but here new perils appeared. One great field was seen ahead right in the ship's way, and on the larboard another. Thinking there was room to pass through some opening between them, the captain advan-

ced ; but it was soon discovered to be impracticable, and the ship rapidly drove towards the ice. The helm was put up, and the vessel absolutely on her beam ends, when the one field was close under the mizen-mast, and she violently struck on the other. The shock was so dreadful, that the crew believed the vessel parting : no wreck floating, however, their terror diminished. But this suspense was of short duration, for the vessel immediately began to sink. The masts were then cut away, and she drove about at the mercy of the winds, always filling more and more.

Several of the crew got out the boats in hopes of saving themselves, but too many crowding to them, they sunk, and the whole were drowned.

The vessel seemed going down, for her head was so far under water, that the crew tried to save themselves on the poop. Some ascended the mizen-mast, which soon gave way, and precipitated them into the sea, where they met the same fate as their comrades. While the water increased more and more, the stern rose a little, but quickly separated from the fore-part, remaining afloat about six feet above the sea ; and this moment was fatal to more of the crew, who were swallowed up by the waves. The misery of the survivors is indescribable ; they could only expect the destruction that had overwhelmed the rest.

Every successive wave breaking over the wreck washed away some of the men. Several, half dead with cold, lost hold of the cordage and fell into the sea. The remainder of the unfortunate crew observed other vessels at a short distance, but it was vain to look for aid, as they were equally the sport of the elements as themselves, and every one thought only of his own safety. At length, the floating

part of the vessel began to right, which was some interruption to the violence of the billows breaking over it, and the master remained there with twenty-nine men. During a night that the tempest was still more terrible, the unfortunate sailors had to struggle with the waves, every moment threatening their destruction, with hunger and cold combined. Towards morning the storm had abated; but the seamen, stiff with the inclemency of the weather, were incapable of using any motion to preserve their little remaining natural heat. They felt an inclination to sleep, and, having lain down, several died in a state of lethargic insensibility. The captain also was washed over, but, holding forcibly by the cordage, recovered the wreck still floating.

By degrees the weather moderated, though the vessel sunk always deeper and deeper, and the surviving crew threw every thing overboard to lighten her, which was partly attended with success. One of them, aware that the danger was every instant nearer, proposed the hasty construction of a raft with the few planks yet at command; and, notwithstanding the captain's dissuasion, it was instantly begun. Happily the waves carried it away the moment of being launched, and just as they were about to commit themselves to it.

Use the misery of the crew, they were with unquenchable thirst, and had to drink their own urine for relief. The second night, still more dreadful than the first, was fatal to several more.

The sea became smooth, and the storm decreased towards morning, yet the crew could not profit by its cessation. Deprived of every kind of food,

they entertained no hopes of being able to survive their calamities.

Near mid-day the pilot observed a sail at a short distance. Little was required to re-animate the hopes of those in expectation of their last moments. The unfortunate seamen exerted their utmost efforts to shew signals of distress; and, these being happily observed, three boats soon came to their assistance.

Thus were twenty men rescued, after being forty-eight hours in a situation of aggravated danger, and in momentary hazard of annihilation, and, during which, sixty-six of their comrades had perished. Being carried on board, almost motionless, and more dead than alive, the greatest care was bestowed upon them. Their feet were put in warm brine, and, notwithstanding the violence of the remedy, they quickly recovered their senses. Their limbs were thawed; they were supplied with meat and drink, and then put to bed: whence in a few days the whole recovered. The master's mate alone died the day subsequent to his deliverance. His limbs were quite frozen through, and nothing could save his life.

A SMALL MONUMENT

OF GREAT MERCY, IN THE MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE OF FIVE PERSONS FROM SLAVERY AT ALGIERS, IN A CANVAS BOAT; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT DISTRESS AND EXTREMITIES WHICH THEY ENDURED AT SEA. BY WILLIAM OKELEY, 1644*.

“ IN the month of June 1639, in consequence of a commission from the Earl of Warwick, Lord Say, and Lord Brook, we embarked at Gravesend, in the *Mary of London*, carrying six guns, chiefly laden with linen and woollen cloth, and bound for the Isle of Providence in the West Indies. Her company, of seamen and passengers, were above sixty in number. We lay five weeks in the Downs waiting for a fair wind, which having at last obtained, we set sail, and came to an anchor off the Isle of Wight. By this time all our beer had spoiled: We were forced to throw it overboard, and to take in vinegar to mix with the wa-

* The original of this narrative is now rarely to be found, though, from its subject, well entitled to preservation. It is written in a strange and extravagant style, common indeed at the period of publication, but little adapted to the matter meant to be communicated. Divested of the prominent peculiarities, it is here reduced to a more simple and intelligible form.

ter for our voyage. Next Sunday we again set sail, but got ashore on the sands between the island and the mainland ; however, the flowing of the tide bore us off.

Three ships were in company, one of which carried nine guns, and was commanded by Mr Church. At dawn of the sixth day, after leaving the Isle of Wight, we discovered three vessels to leeward about three or four leagues. The masters of our ships consulted together whether it was more adviseable to stay and speak with them, or to make the best of our way ; and at last it was determined, but for what reason I know not, that we should remain.

It was not long before we found the strangers to be Turkish men-of-war, which, viewing us as prey, endeavoured to come up, and effected it about night. While approaching, our captains, apparently determined to fight, made preparations for their reception. But, during the night, the counsels of those with whom I was, wavered, their resolution forsook them, and they agreed on flight. Uncertain counsels never produce better success. Had we either at first resolved not to fight the strange ships, or, like men of courage, done the reverse, we might have avoided the danger, or conquered it. The Turks, observing the commencement of our flight, sent one of their number in chase, while the other two lay by our companions until morning. At day-break they began to fight us, and, after a short encounter, we were all boarded and taken. Six were killed in the Mary, and many wounded.

For a number of weeks our captors kept us close prisoners at sea. We found many Englishmen in their ships, slaves like ourselves, from whom we

derived no other comfort than the condolence of each other's miseries. They taught us a smattering of the country language, which we thought would be of some use to us on our arrival at Algiers, whither we were carried in five or six weeks.

Algiers is a city pleasantly situated on the side of the hills overlooking the Mediterranean, which lies to the north, and rises imperiously as if it challenged the sovereignty of the seas, and claimed a tribute of all who ventured to penetrate within the Straits. It is of considerable size, being above three miles in circuit, ornamented and fortified with five gates, *Port Marine* towards the north, *Porta Piscadore* in its vicinity, and *Porta Nova* towards the south, which is said to have been built by the Spaniards while in their possession. The western gate is called *Beb a Wyt*, in the Moorish language, and the eastern one *Beb Azun*. There are several strong castles, besides one on the extremity of the Mole, and it is altogether a strong place. It is supposed to contain eighty thousand inhabitants, of which there cannot be less than twenty-five thousand slaves, of all nations. The private buildings are beautiful, flat-roofed, and adorned with galleries towards the courts, supported by pillars. The Algerines may well afford to erect sumptuous edifices, considering that they build them at other men's cost, and with other men's hands; for this city is celebrated for nothing more than its infamy in being the nest of those Turkish corsairs that have so long tyrannized in the neighbouring seas. Their temples are likewise very magnificent, much too good for their religion; for both their practice and their words would indicate their denial of a God. They have also many elegant baths, whither the men

resort in the morning, and the women in the afternoon.

To this fair city were we brought ; fair indeed in reality, but ugly and deformed in our eyes ; for, as the French truly say, there is no such thing as a beautiful prison. Yet I must confess, that, for a jail, it was the best built that ever I had seen. Immediately on coming ashore, we were locked up in a deep nasty cellar, and next day led, or rather driven, to the viceroy or bashaw's palace, who, according to their customs, has right to every tenth slave. On the arrival of the next market-day we were again drove thither like so many beasts, and exposed to sale. The mode of selling slaves is, leading them up and down, and crying aloud when an offer is made for one to bid more. The purchasers of those exposed are extremely circumspect. They first examine their mouths, and a good strong active set of teeth will advance the price considerably ; for they rationally consider, that those who have not teeth cannot eat, and those that cannot eat are unable to work. Next, the limbs are closely examined, to discover whether there has been any fracture or dislocation of the bones ; and if a man is strong and clean made, that also will advance his price very much. The age of the slave is material. The owner either endeavours to discover it from himself, or to ascertain it from the appearance of the beard, face, or hair. But in nothing is their inspection more minute than of the hands. Should these be callous and large, they judge that the slave has been inured to labour ; if delicate and tender, they suppose him a gentleman or merchant, whence the hope of a large ransom makes him valuable.

After the sale, the slaves are conducted to the

viceroy, who has the privilege of selecting any for himself, at the price which they brought. For my part, I was sold the first market-day to a Tagareen. In explaining this name, the reader must understand, that when the Moors were driven out of Spain, they, on returning to Africa, assumed names that might indicate their rank, from the places of their former residence, and are thence denominated Tagareen, Jarbeen, and the like.

My first adventure in my patron's house had nearly cost me my life. His father, wishing to see his son's purchase, ordered me up into a gallery which overlooked the court; and there began to insult me with insupportable scorn, reviling me because I was a Christian. My neck was not yet bowed to the yoke of bondage; and, because I could not express myself either in the Morisco tongue, or in *Lingua Franca*, I supplied the defect with signs, intimating, as well as I was able, that their prophet, Mahomet, was but a cobbler. This instantly drew down his wrath upon me, and whatever his hands and feet could inflict was unsparingly bestowed. My entreaties only inflamed him the more, whence, as the last resort, I laid my hands on the railing, and threatened to leap over into the court. His anger, or at least the execution of it, was immediately appeased; for the old gentleman was well aware, that his son's profit depended on my survivance, as little is to be made of a dead man's skin. However, what passed was reported to my patron, who, being a very passionate man, without further investigation, drew the long knife constantly wore by the sides of these people, and would doubtless have ended my captivity and life together, had not his wife taken him in her arms and mollified his wrath. This inci-

dent taught me two lessons, first, that while the body is enslaved, the reason must not expect to be free; nor, where the whole person is in bondage, can the tongue plead exemption; and, secondly, that slaves may be well content with the freedom of conscience.

My employment, during half a year, was discharging domestic duties, in going errands, and bearing burdens. My patron had a share in a vessel carrying twelve guns, which fell in with an English ship, laden with plate and other valuable commodities from Spain, and, after a hot action, took her. Elated with this success, the adventurers resolved on again fitting out the vessel with more guns, and my occupation was converted to attendance on the carpenters and smiths, for which my patron made me a more ample allowance than to the common porters. But, when she was finished, he told me that I must go to sea in her. It was in vain that I pleaded I was no seaman, and understood nothing of the mariner's art, whence he could have no expectations from me, though I might look for maltreatment on account of my ignorance. However, he promised that I should not be wronged, and, in fact, spoke to the captain and officers of the ship, to treat me civilly, that is, less cruelly than other slaves were treated. He also gave me some money in my pocket, bought me clothes, and laid in provisions for me above the ship's allowance. We were nine weeks at sea, cruising within and without the Straits, and traversing up and down, until we fell in with a Hungarian French man-of-war, which we took, and then returned to Algiers.

My patron, finding the profits of his ship a slender compensation for the expence he had in-

curred in manning and fitting her out, told me, that I must now allow him two dollars a-month, and live ashore, where I chose to obtain it. It was a hard alternative that I, who could not maintain myself, should be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of another. I debated long in my own mind what plan to adopt, but all my projects were embarrassed, and the longer I consulted, the more did my difficulties increase, until at last, committing myself to the guidance of God for relief, I repaired to one of my own countrymen, also a slave, who was a tailor. He immediately advised me to stay with him, and he would teach me his trade. I, for my part, accounted nothing base that was honest; and my hopes were suddenly elevated at the prospect of being in a capacity to satisfy my patron's demands, and escape his lash. However, when I went next day to the tailor, I perceived, by his silence, that his mind was changed; and reluctant, either from pride or modesty, to give him further trouble, I left him.

Providence directed my wanderings to another Englishman, sitting in a little shop, who asked what news? and, as that which most interested me was readiest to express, I began to recount the hardship imposed on me, of producing two dollars a-month to my patron, while I knew not where to levy the smallest mite of it. Pitying my condition, he invited me to sit along with him in his shop. "Countryman," said he, "I here drive an unknown trade: I sell lead, iron, shot, strong waters, tobacco, and many other things;" and signified his willingness that I should join him in his traffic. The proposal was far too advantageous to be rejected.

I acquainted my patron with my design, and pleaded the want of stock to set up with; whereon he lent me a small portion, which, added to another pittance that I had reserved of my own, was the commencement of my trade. That very night I bought a quantity of tobacco; next morning we cut and dressed it, and prepared it for sale. The world soon seemed to smile on us; and, during the time our partnership continued, we divided our profits weekly, in proportion to the respective stock. At length we ventured, partly with money, and partly on credit, to buy a butt of wine, by which our gains were considerable. But as it is very difficult to preserve moderation in an exalted state, so did my partner, elevated with our good success, neglect his business, and betake himself to drinking, thus leaving the whole concern on my shoulders.

It happened that another person, John Randal, who, with his wife and child, had been taken in the same ship with myself, was reduced to similar necessities, by a monthly tax imposed on him by his patron. Straggling up and down in search of relief, he found his way to my shop. His condition made great impression on me; and I could not but consider God's goodness to me, that I should now be in a state to advise and help another, who so lately wanted both myself. I desired him to come in, and, knowing him to be a glover by trade, I counselled him to make canvas clothes for seamen who were slaves; and, with respect to me, he should sit rent free, only if my partner insisted on his moiety, he must be satisfied, as I had no power to determine of another's right.

It would be tedious to narrate how I spent three or four irksome years in this way of trading. All

that time there was no dawning of our deliverance from bondage; and our condition, already bad, was daily in danger of becoming worse, according to the mutable disposition of our patrons. We were under perpetual temptation to deny Christ, and in making our souls slaves, to recover the liberty of our bodies. How many have made a shipwreck of their faith to escape being chained to the galleys!

Some Algerine pirates had taken an English ship with Mr Devereux Sprat, a clergyman, whom some of us observing to be sober, grave, and of religious deportment, we requested to enjoy the privilege of his ministry. Therefore, engaging to allow him a competency for his own maintenance, and satisfying the expectations of his patron, we recommended that he should compound for whatever sum he could with him per month. He preached three times a-week to us in a cellar, where we met to the number sometimes of three or fourscore. And, notwithstanding this cellar, which I had hired at some distance from our shop for goods, was next the street, we never met with the smallest interruption either from Turks or Moors. Mr Sprat was at length ransomed by Captain Wildy of Ratcliffe, with the assistance of the Leghorn merchants.

Although men who are oppressed with their own personal grievances have little leisure to attend to the occupations of others, I could obtain a truce from my troubles long enough to make observations.

The Spaniards send a considerable sum every year to Algiers to be employed in the redemption of their own countrymen from slavery. Some say that there is a particular treasury appropriated for

that purpose ; and I know that the charitable benevolence of well-disposed persons is used to advance it. There was now a Spanish friar, a slave, who having been overlooked in the redemption of the year, renounced his religion in a fit of discontent, and assumed the Turkish habit. I knew him well by sight, being a corpulent man ; but after his apostacy he became lean and strangely dejected in countenance. He long bore the stings of conscience for having done so, and, when he could endure them no longer, he repaired to the viceroy's palace, openly declaring himself a Christian, and protesting against the Mahometan religion as an execrable imposture. He was immediately conducted before the council, and there, resolutely persisting in his declaration, was put in irons. The Algerines, loth that any man of sound mind should recant their religion, pretended that some one had been tampering with him either by argument or by intoxicating drugs. But when they saw his resolution unalterable, and that menaces were of no avail, they proceeded to the last resort, and condemned him to the fire,—an expedient taught them by the Spaniards themselves, who first established the inquisition against the Moors, though its edge be now turned against the protestants. The execution of his sentence was performed with a kind of pomp and state. A crown was formed with a cross on the top, within the bars and plates of which was contained flax. Thus crowned, he was conducted through the city with a guard, and out by the west gates, about half a mile further, to the place of execution. The flax in the mock crown was then set on fire : At first he shook it off, but it was kindled again, and then the poor man stood patiently : next, the whole

pile prepared was set fire to, and he was burnt. I saw some of his bones and scorched flesh after his death ; and that same evening a zealous Spaniard came and carried part of them away, as the relics of a martyr.

The Moors pay remarkable respect to the Turks, though both be Mahometans ; and a Moor who presumes to strike a Turk is punished with great severity. I saw two during my captivity, whose right hands were chopped off for this crime, and hung from their necks in strings. One was carried on an ass, and the other on foot, through the chief streets of the city, preceded by a common crier proclaiming their offence. Another I saw dragged at a horse's tail, entirely naked except having on linen drawers. It was a wretched spectacle to see his body lacerated with the stones and rugged way, the skin torn off his back and elbows, his head wounded, and all covered over with blood and mire. Thus was he dragged through the city, and out at the Beb Azun, or eastern gate, where he ended his miserable life. Other two of their countrymen were executed in a most horrible manner, though I forget their crimes, or was not informed of them at the time. The one was thrown from a high wall, and caught in his fall by a great sharp hook, a number of which project from the wall. It caught him just under the ribs, and there he hung, in unspeakable agony, until he died. The other was nailed to a ladder by iron spikes through his wrists and ankles, in a posture resembling St Andrew's cross ; and, as if apprehensive that the spikes would not hold from failure of his flesh, the executioners had bound his wrists and ankles with small cords to the ladder. Two days I

saw him alive under this torture, and how much longer he lived I cannot tell.

The Algerines are great enemies to debauchery in public; and though they indulge themselves by night in wine, woe to him who shall offend that way by day. There was an Englishman who had brought over his drunken disposition, which captivity had not sobered. He turned renegade; and, during the holy fast of Ramadan being found inebriated, was straightway carried to the place of judgment, and doomed to be bastinadoed on the back and belly. He was unable to crawl away after the punishment, and Sampson Baker, his surgeon, an Englishman, assured me that he was obliged to cut out a considerable quantity of flesh before curing him.

The punishment of their slaves is arbitrary and unlimited. A young Dutchman had, on some provocation, drawn his knife on his patron; for which attempt he was condemned to be dragged out at one of the gates, and there have his legs and arms broke with a large sledge hammer. The sentence was put in execution; and although I could not see his face for the crowd, I heard the blows and the miserable cries of the poor dying young man.

But it is time to resume my own concerns. John Randal worked busily along with me in my shop, for my former partner had now entirely forsaken it. Slaves were indulged with the liberty of walking about a mile from the city; and one day, John Randal being somewhat indisposed, we walked out together. After reaching the limits of our distance, I was desirous of going a little farther to survey the sea-coast, lest there might be any future chance of escape, though at present we had

no such design. One of the officers, constantly appointed to watch the slaves, charged us with attempting to escape, and, notwithstanding our positive denial, seized us, which there was no resisting. We were straightway carried before the viceroy and his council for examination on this charge; and as we resolutely persisted in our denial, no punishment was inflicted, except an order to keep us in chains in the viceroy's prison, until our respective patrons should demand our liberty. Next day we were delivered; but John Randal's patron, in the exercise of that absolute and unlimited authority claimed by the Algerines over their slaves, commanded him to receive three hundred bastinadoes on the soles of the feet.

The mode of inflicting this punishment, is taking a strong piece of wood, about six feet long, with two holes in the middle, into which a cord is put and fastened with knots on one side, so as to make a loop on the other. Both the feet of the culprit are introduced into the loop, while two stout men, one at each end of the wood, lift it up, and twist it about until his feet are held tight by the ankles. Then raising it nearly as high as their shoulders, they hold the culprit in this position, only his neck and shoulders resting on the ground; while a third person, with a short baton, gives him the appointed number of blows on the soles.

My patron, enraged at the demands of the spy for his detection, fell into a violent passion, and, calling me *Dog* and *Jew*, commanded me to go to work in the looms with other English slaves, who were cloth-weavers. But, alas, I understood nothing of the matter; however, I continued at work until I had spoiled all that was put into my

hands. When he discovered that my labour could be turned to no account he ordered me to fill quills for the others, which I performed well enough for a month.

All this time my shop lay at sixes and sevens; what had become of it I knew not, neither durst I testify any desire to return to my former employment. At last my patron, having asked for the money that he lent me when I first began trade, I answered, submissively, that I had not a farthing, as all my estate lay in a few goods, and, until they were sold, I could not possibly repay him. On this he ordered one of his slaves, a Dutchman, to accompany me to my shop, and, converting every thing into ready money, to bring it to him. The shop was there indeed, but the contents gone; for poor John Randal being unable to work, my partner absent, and myself at another occupation, some villains had broken into my shop, and carried off the best of my goods. My cellar was fortunately still safe, and some of the articles which I heard of I recovered: besides, all my money was hid in the earth, according to my constant practice. Thus the Dutchman and myself returned to our patron, telling him that we could sell nothing, whence he remanded me to my shop to trade there, and pay him two dollars a month as before.

Still there was no prospect of deliverance, nor could I even flatter myself with the hope of escaping. However, the fortune of my patron had been sinking a considerable time, and the last ship which he put to sea ruined him. Thus he was forced to sell all his slaves to pay his debts. It was of little consequence to me whither I was transferred, though I might change my jailor and

my jail, I was still likely to be a prisoner. Yet it was one consolation, that the last instrument of my bondage had come into misery as well as myself.

In partitioning his slaves, it was my fate and that of another to be mortgaged to two persons jointly, for a sum of money: the one a cap-maker, and the other a grave old gentleman, who, among his own people, had the repute of being a good-natured moderate person. The money not being produced, when the day of payment came, he and the cap-maker seized on us in common. They agreed to cast lots for us; only, as I was in the way of trade, he to whom I might fall, should pay the other a sum equal to about fifty shillings sterling. Happily I fell to the old gentleman's share; and, if I were silent here, I should be the most ungrateful person living, for I found not only pity and compassion, but love and friendship from my new patron. Had I been his son, I could not have met with more respect, or been treated with greater tenderness. Indeed, the freedom which I enjoyed under my bonds was so great, that it almost blunted the edge of my desire to make any vigorous attempts for liberty, which could be attended with hazard, until roused by the following occasion.

My patron had a farm about twelve miles from the city, whither he conducted me along with him; he also carried me to the markets, and explained how they were held, and, on my return home, loaded me with all manner of good provisions, that I might make merry with my fellow Christians. From his great kindness, I had reason to conclude that he meant to send me thither to manage the farm for him. But it was evident,

that if I once quitted my shop, I should abandon every possibility of escaping from slavery, and, though I might there have been a petty lord, slavery had something in it which I could not brook; fetters of gold are not the less fetters. Had Bajazet's cage been of gold, instead of iron, it was still a cage; and that was enough to make his haughty spirit dash his brains out against its bars.

After setting my fancy to work, I at last hit on a stratagem, which I first intimated to Mr Sprat, our minister, who, it has been already mentioned, was delivered from his patron, and now in a fair way to be regularly enlarged. He judged it practicable, and I next acquainted one John Lake, a very wise and religious person, who bestowed his blessing on it, and wished me all good success: And, lastly, I told John Randal, by whom it was also approved; yet none of all these persons either could or would run the risk of its failure. Before disclosing my plan, I administered an oath of secrecy to some others, which was willingly taken. Seven, I judged, would be able to carry it through, and therefore communicated it to John Anthony, a carpenter, who had been a slave fifteen years; William Adams, now a bricklayer, who had been one eleven years; John Jeph, a seaman, and another carpenter, called John, who had both been five years in captivity; and two more, whose occupation was washing clothes by the sea-side. Adding myself, William Okeley, the author of this narrative, who was taken 11th August 1639, and escaped 30th June 1644, makes the number seven in all.

But new scruples arose, whether attempting to escape from my patron, who so dearly loved me,

who had treated me so well, and purchased me fairly, were justifiable before God and man. However, after largely revolving the case in my mind, I determined that I was at my own disposal. Thus, when all was clear and quiet, I now first opened my design to my comrades, informing them, that I had contrived the model of a boat, which, being formed in pieces, and afterwards put together, might be the means of our deliverance. They greedily grasped at the prospect; but cooler reflection pointed out difficulties innumerable: some of them started objections which they thought insuperable, and these I endeavoured to overrule.

We began our work in the cellar which had served for our devotions, though it was not the sanctity of the place, but its privacy, that induced us to this selection. We first provided a piece of wood, twelve feet long, and, that it might escape observation, it was cut in two, being jointed in the middle. Next we procured the timbers or ribs, which, to avoid the same hazard, were in three pieces each, and jointed in two places. The flat side of one of the two pieces was laid over the other, and two holes bored in every joint to receive nails; so that, when united, each joint would make an obtuse angle, and approach towards a semicircular figure, as we required. We had, in the formation of an external covering, to avoid hammering and nailing, which would have made such a noise in the cellar as to attract the notice of the Algerines, who are insufferably suspicious about their wives and slaves. Therefore, we provided as much canvas as would cover the boat twice over, and as much pitch, tar, and tallow, as would make it a kind of tarpaulin; as also earthen-

pots, in which to melt our materials. The two carpenters and myself were appointed to this service in the cellar. We stopped up all chinks and crevices, that the fumes of these substances might not betray us. But we had not been long at work, when the smell of the melting materials overcame me, and obliged me to go into the streets gasping for breath, where, meeting with the cool air, I swooned away, and broke my face in the fall. My companions, finding me in this plight, carried me back, extremely sick and unserviceable. Before long, I heard one of them complain of sickness, and thus he could proceed no further; therefore, I saw if we abandoned our project this night, it might not be resumed, which made me resolve to set the cellar door wide open, while I stood sentinel to give notice of approaching danger. In this way we finished the whole, and then carried it to my shop, which was about a furlong distant.

Every thing was fitted in the cellar, the timbers to the keel, the canvas to the timbers, and the seats to the whole, and then all were taken to pieces again. It was a matter of difficulty, however, to get the pieces conveyed out of the city; but William Adams carried the keel, and hid it at the bottom of a hedge: the rest was carried away with similar precautions. As I was carrying a piece of canvas, which we had bought for a sail, I looked back, and discovered the same spy, who had formerly given us so much trouble, following behind. This gave me no small concern; but, observing an Englishman washing clothes by the sea side, I desired his help in washing the canvas. Just as we were engaged with it, the spy came up, and stood on a rock exactly over our heads,

to watch us. Therefore, to delude him, I took the canvas and spread it before his face on the top of the rock to dry; he staid his own time, and then marched off. Still I was jealous of his intentions, which induced me to carry the canvas, when dry, straight back to the city, an incident that greatly discouraged my comrades. We also procured a small quantity of provisions, and two goat skins full of fresh water.

In the meantime, I paid my patron my wonted visits, kept up a fair correspondence, and duly gave him his demands; while I secretly turned all my goods to ready money as fast as I could, and, putting it into a trunk with a false bottom, I committed it to the charge of Mr Sprat, who faithfully preserved it for me.

The place which we chose for joining the boat together, was a hill about half a mile from the city, thinking by that means the better to descry the approach of danger. When the pieces were united, and the canvas drawn on, four of our number carried the boat down to the sea, where, stripping ourselves naked, and putting our clothes within, we carried it as far as we could wade, lest it might be injured by the stones or rocks near the shore. But we soon discovered that our calculations of lading were erroneous; for no sooner had we embarked, than the water came in over the sides, and she was like to sink; so that some new device became necessary. At last, one whose heart most failed him was willing to be excluded, and wished rather to hazard the uncertain torments of land, than the certainty of being drowned at sea. However, the boat was still so deeply laden, that we all concluded it was impossible to venture to sea. At length another went

ashore, and then she held up her head stoutly, and seemed sufficiently capable of our voyage.

Taking a solemn farewell of our two companions left behind, and wishing them as much happiness as could be hoped for in slavery, and they to us as long life as could be expected by men going to their graves, we launched out on the 30th of June 1644, a night ever to be remembered. Our company consisted of John Anthony, William Adams, John Jeph, John the carpenter, and myself.

We now put to sea, without helm, tackle, or compass. Four of us continually laboured at the oars; the employment of the fifth was baling out the water that leaked through the canvas. We struggled hard the first night to get out of the reach of our old masters; but, when day broke, we were still within sight of their ships in the haven and roadstead. Yet, our boat being small, and lying close and snug upon the sea, either was not discovered at all, or else seemed something that was not worth taking up.

On all occasions we found our want of foresight, for now the bread, which had lain soaking in the salt water, was quite spoiled, and the tanned skins imparted a nauseous quality to the fresh water. So long as bread was bread, we made no complaints; with careful economy it lasted three days, but then pale famine, which is the most horrible shape in which death can be painted, began to stare us in the face. The expedients on which we fell to assuage our thirst rather inflamed it, and several things added to our distress. For some time the wind was right against us; our labour was incessant, for, although much rowing did not carry us forward, still, cessation of it drove us back:

and the season was raging hot, which rendered our toil insupportable. One small alleviation we had in the man whose province it was to bale the water out of the boat; he threw it on our bodies to cool them. However, what with the scorching of the sun and cooling of the water, our skin was blistered all over. By day we were stark naked; by night we had on shirts or loose coats: for we had left our clothing ashore, on purpose to lighten the boat.

One of our number had a pocket dial, which supplied the place of a compass; and, to say the truth, was not ill befitting such a vessel and such mariners. By its aid we steered our course by day, while the stars served as a guide by night; and, if they were obscured, we guessed our way by the motion of the clouds. In this woful plight we continued four days and nights. On the fifth day we were at the brink of despair, and abandoned all hope of safety. Thence we ceased our labour, and laid aside our oars; for, either we had no strength left to use them, or were reluctant to waste the little we had to no purpose. Still we kept emptying the boat, loth to drown, loth to die, yet knowing no means to avoid death.

They that act least commonly wish the most; and, when we had forsaken useless labour, we resorted to fruitless wishes—that we might be taken up by some ship, if it were but a ship, no matter of what country.

While we lay hulling up and down, our hopes at so low an ebb, we discovered a tortoise, not far from us, asleep in the sea. Had the great Drake discovered the Spanish plate fleet, he could not have been more rejoiced. Once again we bethought ourselves of our oars, and, silently rowing

to our prey, took it into the boat in great triumph. Having cut off its head, and let it bleed into a vessel, we drank the blood, ate the liver, and sucked the flesh. Our strength and spirits were wonderfully refreshed, and our work was vigorously renewed. Leaving our fears behind us, we began to gather hope, and, about noon, discovered, or thought that we discovered, land. It is impossible to describe our joy and triumph on this occasion. It was new life to us; it brought fresh blood into our veins, and fresh vigour into our pale cheeks: we looked like persons raised from the dead. After further exertion, becoming more confident, we were at last fully satisfied that it was land. Now, like distracted persons, we all leapt into the sea, and, being good swimmers, cooled our parched bodies, never considering that we might become a ready prey to the sharks. But we presently returned to our boat, and, from being wearied with the exertion, and somewhat cooled by the sea, lay down to sleep with as much security as if it had been in our beds. It was fortunately of such short duration that the leaking of the boat occasioned no danger.

Refreshed by sleep, we found new strength for our work, and tugged hard at the oar, in hopes of reaching a more stable element before night. But our progress was very slow. Towards evening an island was discovered, which was Fromentere, having already seen Majorca; at least, some of our company, who had navigated these seas, declared that it was so. We debated long to which of the two our course should be directed; and, because the last discovered was much infested with venomous serpents, we all resolved to make for Majorca. The whole of that night we rowed very hard, and

also the next, being the sixth from our putting to sea. The island was in sight all day, and about ten at night we came under the land, but it consisted of rocks so steep and craggy that we could not climb up.

Whilst under these rocks, a vessel approached very near: Let the reader conceive our apprehensions, after all our toil and labour, of being seized by some Turkish privateer, such as are never off the seas. Thus we were obliged to lie close; and, when the vessel had passed, we crept gently along the coast, as near as we durst to the shore, until finding a suitable place to receive our weather-beaten boat.

We were not insensible of our deliverance on reaching land; though, like men just awakened from a dream, we could not duly appreciate the greatness of it. Having had no food since we got the tortoise, John Anthony and myself set out in search of fresh water, and three remained with the boat. Before proceeding far, we found ourselves in a wood, which created great embarrassment. My comrade wished to go one way, and I wished to go another. How frail and impotent a being is man! That we, whom common dangers by sea had united, should now fall out about our own inclinations at land. Yet so we did. He gave me reproachful words; and it is well that we did not come to blows. But I went my own way, and he, seeing me resolute, followed. The path led to one of those watch-towers which the Spaniards keep on the coast to give timely notice of the approach of privateers. Afraid of being fired on, we called to the sentinel, informing him who we were, and earnestly requesting him to direct us to fresh water, and to give us some bread. He very kindly

threw down an old mouldy cake, and directed us to a well close at hand. We drank a little water, and ate a bit of the cake, which we had difficulty in swallowing, and then hastened to return to our companions in the boat, to acquaint them with our success.

Though now necessary to leave the boat, we did not do it without regret: but this was lulled by the importunate cravings of hunger and thirst; therefore, making her fast ashore, we departed. Advancing, or rather crawling, towards the well, another quarrel arose among us, the remembrance of which is so ungrateful that I shall bury it in silence, the best tomb for controversies. One of our company, William Adams, in attempting to drink, was unable to swallow the water, and sunk to the ground, faintly exclaiming, "I am a dead man!" After much straining and forcing, he, at length, got a little over; and when we were all refreshed with the cake and water, we lay down by the side of the well to wait for morning.

When it was broad day, we once more applied to the sentinel, to point out the way to the nearest house or town, which he did, directing us to a house about two miles distant; but our feet were so raw and blistered by the sun that it was long before we could get this short journey over; and then, the owner of the house, concluding from our garb that we came with a pilfering design, presented a fowling-piece, charging us to stand. The first of our number, who could speak the language of the country, mildly endeavoured to undeceive him, saying, we were a company of poor creatures, whom the wonderful providence of God had rescued from the slavery of Algiers, and hoped that he would show mercy to our afflictions. The

honest farmer, moved with our relation, sent out bread, water, and olives. After refreshing ourselves with these, we lay down and rested three or four hours in the field; and, having given him thanks for his charity, prepared to crawl away. Pleased with our gratitude, he called us into his house, and gave us good warm bean pottage, which to me seemed the best food ever I had ate. Again taking leave, we advanced towards Majorea, which was about ten miles distant.

Next morning we arrived in the suburbs, where the singularity of our attire, being barefoot and barelegged, and having nothing on except loose shirts, drawn over our coats, attracted a crowd of inquirers. We gave a circumstantial account of our deliverance; and, as they were willing to contribute to our relief, they supplied us with food, wine, strong waters, and whatever else might renovate our exhausted spirits. They said, however, that we must remain in the suburbs until the viceroy had notice of our arrival. We were called before him; and when he had heard the account of our escape and dangers, he ordered us to be maintained at his expence until we should obtain a passage to our own country; and, in the meantime, the people collected money to buy clothes and shoes.

Majorca being a city whither English ships seldom trade, we requested the viceroy to allow us a passage in the king of Spain's galleys, then in the road, bound for Spain. The cold reception which we there experienced from some of our own country I would willingly conceal. One merchant, taking compassion on us, conducted us to an Englishman's house, where we lodged, and gave us half a dollar to defray our expences. Next day, understanding that there was an English vessel in the

road homeward bound, we went aboard in quest of a passage. The master told us that he had but little provision; yet, if we would be content with bread and beverage, we might go. That we accounted royal fare, and waited until he set sail, which was a few days afterwards.

While at sea, we were closely chased by two Turkish galleys: however, being near Gibraltar, we got in there and escaped. We had known slavery too well and too long not to be cautious of it again; therefore, three of us, John the carpenter, John Anthony, and myself, went ashore, and remained: our other companions ventured with the ship, and arrived in England before us. While at Gibraltar, the Spaniards pitied our condition; and one of them said we might have lodging in his vessel, and that he had fish enough for our consumption. We staid there until our money was gone, and then resolved to travel with the foot-post by land to Cadiz, which is about sixty miles distant. But while my two companions had gone to inquire for the courier, I staid on the shore, and saw a small Spanish vessel coming from Malaga, bound for Cadiz. The master freely granted a passage at my request; and, having sailed early next morning, arrived in Cadiz Road. Not finding any vessel there bound for England, and hearing that there was one at St Lucar, which is about twelve miles distant, we travelled thither by land. Her commander was Captain Smith of Redriff. We obtained a passage in her, and he prevailed on the merchants to lay in provision for us. We met with contrary winds in the voyage, which lasted five weeks, and reached the Downs in September 1644.

PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE

OF SEVERAL FRENCHMEN BANISHED TO THE VIRGIN
ISLANDS, 1647.

THE discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, opened an extensive theatre of enterprize to the various European nations. The Spaniards, however, under the feeble sanction of a papal bull, pretended to have right to the whole sovereignty of the west, and struggled to monopolize the riches of the American islands, from the adventurers of other countries. Not content with cruelty and oppression of the natives, whose dominions they invaded, hostile establishments were formed, and formidable fleets employed, which, while protecting the treasures transmitted homewards, served to intimidate those who wished to participate in them. Nevertheless, when the dread of infringing the sanction of the pope had abated, and intelligent governments saw the advantage of colonizing the wide extent of territory, from which they could not be excluded by the Spanish power, their attention was directed towards founding settlements, which might contribute to satisfy both the wants and the luxuries of the mother-country.

In the year 1625, M. d'Enambuc, a French-

man, who had obtained the rank of captain of the West Seas from his sovereign, sailed from Dieppe for the West Indies. In the way he was attacked by a Spanish galley of far superior force, which he repulsed, though with considerable loss of his own company, and great injury to his ship. Doubtful whither to proceed for the purpose of making necessary repairs, he at length determined to sail for the Island of St Christopher, where he thought besides the sick and wounded might recover. In this island he found several French refugees living on good terms with the savages. He likewise found an English captain, who had, in the same manner, been attacked and roughly treated by the Spaniards, and had afterwards landed in another part of the island, where he lived in good intelligence with the natives also.

M. d'Enambuc immediately adopted the resolution of founding a colony in St Christopher's, and, having loaded his vessel with the best commodities the island produced, he returned to France. They were sold to great advantage, which inspired all who saw them, and heard of the excellence of the country, with a desire to accompany M. d'Enambuc thither, for the purpose of forming a settlement. But, it being indispensable that persons both of rank and fortune should patronize such an establishment, the subject was communicated to Cardinal Richelieu, who, after making due inquiry into the advantages expected to result from it, gave his full assent. Under his auspices a mercantile company arose, which engaged to defray the expences of the first settlers; and M. d'Enambuc, along with a friend of his own, was appointed to carry the plan into execution. A fund of forty-five thousand livres was raised, and two vessels,

containing 522 adventurers, sailed from France in February 1627.

The management of the enterprize, however, was so ill arranged, that, before the vessels were two hundred leagues at sea, provisions began to fail. The passage was tedious, and sickness ensued; for those embarked were persons indiscriminately collected, and little accustomed to the hardships of the sea. After a navigation of two months, the ships arrived at Sandy Point, St Christopher's, where, out of seventy-one on board one of them, only sixteen survived.

The English captain already named, was impressed with the same view of the advantages that would result from a settlement of his countrymen. His design met encouragement in England, and, previous to the arrival of the French, he had reached St Christopher's with four hundred colonists, all in good health and spirits, and abundantly supplied with provisions. He then formed an amicable treaty with the French, partitioning the island, and pointing out their respective settlements.

The progress of the two colonies was attended with a marked difference. The English used the precaution of furnishing themselves with provisions, until the pease and potatoes they had planted should ripen: the French, sick and famished, had nothing whereon to subsist in the interval; they were forced by their commanders to work in the heat of the day, and, while waiting the maturity of their crops, they were dying of hunger. Thus, though the English enjoyed more than abundance, the others were in a state of famine.

The government of St Christopher's underwent various changes. The Spaniards, in the course of

a voyage to South America, attacked the island; and such confusion and disorder ensued, that the whole colonists found it expedient to evacuate it, and retire to Antigua. They returned, however, but still at war with their neighbours, or divided among themselves. The former had less effect on their prosperity than the latter, for war generally strengthens the union of a people, and peace enfeebles them by admitting of internal dissensions.

In 1647, M. de Poincy, the governor, having learnt by letters from France, that complaints to the court against him were favourably received, conceived, that the best method of securing his own authority, was to expel the friends of his rival, M. de Thoisy, from the island, who had come to supersede him. But he was afraid to send them home to France, lest they might unite with his other enemies, and bear testimony against his interest; neither would he venture to banish them like criminals from the island, lest it might have an invidious appearance, and injure his cause at home. Therefore, he deemed it prudent to adopt some more specious expedient, and circulated a report that he proposed to colonize one of the Virgin Islands. Under this pretext he selected sixty of those most suspected by him, one of whom, Vincent Veillet, had long been secretary of St Christopher's, another pay-master, and almost the whole military officers.

When it was known that M. de Poincy had appointed a man, called Verrier, the chief of this pretended colony, a person without understanding, experience, or learning, and who had formerly been condemned to death for sedition, strong suspicions arose that he intended banishing the others to some desert island. But this doubt was fully

confirmed, when, a few days after their departure, their property was confiscated, and their lands bestowed on those who had espoused the cause of M. de Poincy.

The persons thus proscribed, embarked in September 1647, in a vessel belonging to John Pinart, who had already made several voyages to the Virgin Islands, and remarked, that, in the largest, there was a great portion of land cleared by the English, on which they had planted yams and manioc.

Here they arrived, and, having debarked, immediately suspended their hammocks from trees, to seek repose from the fatigues of the sea, and the disquiets which had so long agitated them at St Christopher's. However, the swarms of gnats and musquitoes precluded them from obtaining a moment of rest.

Next day, several of the more inquisitive examined the island, to ascertain whether it was suitable for a settlement. Traversing the tract cleared by the English, they found a number of dead bodies, both of men and women, in their clothes, a horrible spectacle, which inspired them with affright, and induced them to believe that this place had been selected only as a favourable one for their being massacred; because the island being near that of St John de Porto Rico, inhabited by the Spaniards, they knew they could expect nothing but to be driven out of it.

The Spaniards, in fact, having learnt the dissensions and disorders prevailing in St Christopher's, and that M. de Poincy had expelled a number of the inhabitants, who had now landed on one of the Virgin Islands, armed five ships of war. On board of these some infantry were embarked, to be

employed in reconnoitring the place where the French had settled, and to bestow the same treatment on them as they had lately bestowed on the English.

Having anchored at the island, five boats, filled with soldiers, rowed towards the French, who, perceiving their enemies, and well knowing that they should receive no quarter, resolved to stand together to the utmost extremity. They were joined by the crew of Pinart's vessel, to the number of fifteen, and thus fought valiantly against the Spaniards. A furious encounter ensued, in which the governor of Porto Rico's nephew, who commanded the expedition, was mortally wounded, and a number of Spaniards killed, which forced them to retire to an extensive bay called *Anse du Morne*. There they held a council, and determined to renew the attack, which they did with spears and musquets. Three Frenchmen were killed, and five wounded, who, nevertheless, received quarter from the Spaniards. The survivors, seeing the inequality of their numbers, compared with that of the enemy, fled from the field of battle, and retired to the mountains, from which they did not venture to descend until they saw their enemies depart.

The Spaniards, in leaving the island, set fire to the Frenchmen's house, and pillaged all their property; thus they remained without a house to cover them, a bed to lie in, or a vessel to carry them away; besides being deprived of all their tools and utensils. Here they lived three or four months on berries found in the woods, and mussels collected on the shore.

Several died of hunger, and the rest saw themselves on the brink of destruction. Five of the

boldest, therefore, resolved to expose themselves to every hazard in attempting to quit the island, as the only hope of safety. They made a *pyperi*, which is hardly superior to a raft, for the purpose of putting to sea on it, and going in quest of some other country, where was a matter of indifference, provided they could expect the succour of Christians; and, in preparing to do so, one of them fortunately found a hatchet on the stump of a tree, with which they went in search of the lightest wood in the island. They found it, and then laboured so diligently, that in three days they made a *pyperi*, of several pieces of wood, without mortise or nails, bound together by a thick strong substance instead of ropes. This embarkation was fourteen feet long, and eleven broad. To cut the water, a kind of point was made before; and they also had a mast fifteen feet long. Two of the five gave up their shirts, which were opened out, and then fixed together with pins of the bark of a tree, for a sail.

The day of embarkation being come, the adventurers recommended themselves to God, along with their other companions in misfortune; they ate in company whatever they had been able to discover during the preceding day, and, having embraced each other with many sighs and tears, went down to the shore. It is difficult to determine which were the more afflicted by this cruel separation. They who were about to depart, bewailed those left behind as persons who would soon die of disease and wretchedness; for most of them were already swoln and disfigured. Those again who remained, viewed their departing friends as consigned to death, knowing that they could pro-

ceed but a little way without perishing of hunger, or being swallowed up by the waves.

Thus having embraced and bade each other a last adieu, expressed more forcibly by tears than by words, the five adventurers pushed the *pyperi* afloat, into which they entered; two sitting astern, two before, and one in the middle. The two astern guided an oar, shaped like a helm; the other three were provided with paddles, which they used after the manner of savages, that is, sitting with their faces to the head of the vessel, and rowing from before. In this manner, after making strong exertions, they reached a small island, not far from the Great Virgin Island, commonly called Virgino Goarda.

Having landed here with charcoal, which they took care to keep constantly lighted in the *pyperi*, they made a fire on a sandy beach to roast some mussels and other shell-fish which they found on the shore.

On leaving this island, they called it *Isle de la Violette*: because, at landing, they found a dead body buried in the sand, apparently but recently before, and a wooden cross erected, bearing an inscription: *Here lies the body of La Violette, an inhabitant of St Christopher's*. One of the five, who afterwards met Father du Tertre in France, informed him, that the person now discovered had, along with others, been committed to the mercy of the winds and the waves, in a boat without bread or water.

The distressed adventurers, after quitting the island, rowed so hard, that they made the Island of St Thomas, where they found abundance of those refreshments which they so much required, such as oranges, citron, lemons, figs, and other

fruit, and were thence induced to remain five days ashore.

From the Island of St Thomas, they continued their voyage to the south of Porto Rico, where they debarked on an extensive sandy beach. Advancing two leagues inland, they recognised, by the great herds of wild cattle and swine, that they were now on the Island of St John de Porto Rico ; but, apprehensive of encountering the inhabitants, who never give quarter to any living soul, they returned to the beach. They then bound up their pyperi anew, that they might make another small island, two leagues to the windward of Porto Rico.

They rowed three days around the island without being able to land, from the great surf that broke on the shore ; but at length succeeded in reaching a little bay of white sand, where, having landed, they discovered two pits of good water, which had been dug by seamen. They also found birds so tame, that they could easily be killed at night with long poles, which afforded the means of subsistence. These conveniencies, added to the indications of men having been there, led them to suppose, that fishing-vessels frequented the island, which would soon appear, and enable them to escape to some civilized country. Encouraged by this prospect, they built a small hut, which they inhabited nearly three months, daily making the circuit of the island, but two leagues round, though without seeing either a vessel at sea, or a human being on shore, from whom they could hope to derive any assistance.

At last, one Sunday morning, just after finishing their devotions, they observed a vessel coasting along the north side of the island ; and immediate-

ly made a signal, by hoisting a piece of cloth at the end of a pole. By this means, and shouting aloud, they attracted the captain's notice, who altered his course, and steered directly for the land. Seeing only five naked and defenceless men, he sent five of his own people ashore in the boat, one of whom, a Walloon, recognised, by their language, that they were Frenchmen, and that shipwreck, or some other unfortunate accident, was the cause of their living on this desert island. The strangers, therefore, charitably took them on board, and they, by the Walloon interpreter, informed the captain of their country, the length of their residence in the islands, the cause of their banishment, and the frightful miseries they had endured, both at sea and on shore, since they left the Virgin Islands. The captain was sensibly affected by their melancholy story; he gave them shirts and shoes; supplied them with bread, wine, and spirits, and promised that he would carry them to Porto Rico, fifteen days afterwards, when his fishing terminated.

This promise was punctually performed; having gone to fish elsewhere, he returned in fifteen days, in passing, and conveyed them to Porto Rico; and, to preserve the remembrance of so strange an adventure, he carried the pyperi they had escaped in along with him to shew it to Don Francisco Maldona, the Spanish governor of that island.

When four or five leagues on the voyage, the pilot, reconnoitring the coast of the Virgin Islands from the mast-head, perceived something moving on a piece of wood in the sea, a league distant. But being too far off to obtain a distinct view of the object, he made towards it, and discovered

people floating on a pyperi, exactly similar to the one he had now on board. These were six men, the remains of the unfortunate exiles, who were prompted to follow their comrades, and seek a more supportable existence in some other place, or expose themselves to death, which would put an end to their misery. Thus they also had embarked on a pyperi, constructed after the same manner. The unfortunate adventurers, recognising their companions already on board, implored the captain to extend his benevolence to them likewise. He charitably assented, and carried them to Porto Rico, where he presented the whole eleven to the governor, who gave them a humane reception, after learning the dangers and distresses they had experienced; he also supplied them with clothes, and, instead of confining them, allowed them to go about the town.

Here they had no difficulty in gaining a livelihood, for, being considered by all as extraordinary persons, each vied with another in being most bountiful. Those who were skilled in any trade practised it; and one, who was a good performer on the violin, alone gained as much as maintained the rest, for he both divided the money he received, and brought meat to them from the houses where he was almost daily employed.

After having collected a sufficient sum to defray the expence of their passage to Europe, they all returned in Spanish vessels, excepting one who married in the island.

The Island of St Christopher is said to be the oldest of the British West India settlements, and the parent of all the rest; for, though the French seem to claim priority of occupation, from the

preceding narrative, a colony had been established in 1623. It was afterwards frequently the subject of contention, though the British at last prevailed, and some of the French settlers consented to take the oaths to government. But, during the late American war, a large fleet, with a powerful body of troops from France, overpowered the garrison, after a brave resistance, and retained possession of the island, until it was restored at the general peace which followed in 1783.

A *pyperi* seems to be the same kind of embarkation, better known by the name of *balza*, or *jangada*, in South America. It is of very simple structure, consisting merely of several large logs of timber or trees bound together by strong ropes as a raft. Some have one mast and a small foresail, others two masts, with triangular sails, of considerable size. The *balza* is employed by the South Americans in navigating the coast, in transporting goods, and for fishing in the river Guyaquil. The mode of steering it, is by a device not unlike the sliding keels lately adopted in Britain; and it is said to sail remarkably near the wind.

NARRATIVE

OF A GREAT DELIVERANCE AT SEA, 1648. BY
DR WILLIAM JOHNSON, CHAPLAIN AND SUB-
ALMONER TO KING CHARLES II.

THE publication of the following narrative originated in the piety of its author, and his gratitude to Divine Providence for accomplishing his preservation. He first commemorated his escape by a public sermon, and afterwards detailed it more fully as in the subsequent pages. Divesting his relation of that extraordinary and inflated style, peculiar to the period in which he lived, we shall here present it in the order which the author has himself observed.

“ We embarked at Harwich on Michaelmas Day, the 29th of September 1648*. A dull kind of sadness oppressed my spirits, so that I could not look cheerfully on my departing friends, but I took leave of them as if I had been going, not only out of England, but out of the world. This seemed unaccountable to me, for I went on a good message,—the cause of religion. I had embarked

* It would appear that the name of the ship was the William and John of Ipswich, belonging to William Blithe and John Smythier, merchants there. The captain's name was Daniel Morgan.

in a stout ship, with a fair wind and a skilful pilot, so that I could neither foresee nor suspect danger. But Nature was surely sensible of some approaching storm, for no sooner was I at sea, than I suffered extreme anguish and apprehension, insomuch that I endured shipwreck in imagination. Likewise, the pain of sickness was so great and grievous, combining all human evils, as it seemed, together, that then to have been drowned would have been no punishment.

One afternoon, about four o'clock, the master of the ship came into our cabin with more than ordinary haste; for he was quickened by the sense of some sudden danger. This, though he concealed from me, I saw plainly written in the characters of fear and amazement on his countenance, and I thence asked him whether all was well; to which he, like a tender-hearted man, loth to tell his friend he is near his end, answered, *All is well.*

But, when I saw him shift himself, and hasten out again with great speed, I rose from my bed, and, crawling upon deck, beheld a melancholy spectacle; for, the ship having sprung a leak, or rather a plank, was ready to sink. Now I do not wonder that I was so sick before, seeing death was so near. O how every man's face was changed with terror: we could hardly know each other! One was at prayers, another wringing his hands, and a third shedding tears: but, after this fit, they fell to work, though, as happens in such extremities, all were busy doing nothing. They began with one thing, then went to another, and perfected neither to accomplish our safety.

The master's-mate and a man, who had been sent down to search out the leak, quickly returned with a sad countenance, and pale with fear. In

faultering accents, he signified that the leak was incurable; that it could not be stopped, and the water was rushing in so fast, that we must instantly perish. He said nothing, however, that we did not read in his visage, where our fate was pictured.

Now there was no time for consultation; but the long-boat was speedily hoisted out, and eight or nine guns discharged, as a signal of distress to Bartholomew Cook, the master of a ship in company, only a little a-head. Trusting to relief, we leapt into the boat; but unfortunately I fell short, and, with difficulty, got out of the sea. No sooner had I secured myself, than a mariner leapt from the ship upon me, and crushed me down with his weight. This I did not regret, as I should willingly have borne them all to have saved their lives. There was only one person remaining on board, who made such grievous lamentation, that, although the ship's sails now lay on the water, and her sinking would have absorbed the boat along with her, we approached and took him in.

We now rowed clear of the ship, when, not seeing Bartholomew Cook come to our relief, we began to talk reproachfully of him, as if he had been negligent of our welfare; for all men are suspicious in adversity, and decide harshly. Unhappily, this honest master drank a deeper draught of affliction; for in that hour he and all his men perished.

Our hopes of safety were small, for we were in the north seas, which are seldom smooth, and, at this time, a storm raised the waves in prodigious mountains. How could we think to escape in a small and open shallop, when a large ship had not been able to resist them? We were many leagues from shore, wanting a compass and provisions, and night was approaching. Nothing was in the boat except a small kettle, which was employed in bal-

ing out the water, and three bags of pieces of eight, to the value of L. 300 sterling. Money was then truly proved to be, in its own nature, only a burthen of no worth. Though we betook ourselves to prayers, our complaints were louder than our invocations; but God had compassion upon us, and we descried a vessel making towards the boat. Unfortunately, having only two oars, we could have little effect on the boat, and the sea run high: we sat with our backs to receive it, and it broke so much over us that we had difficulty in clearing it out with the kettle.

Notwithstanding all our endeavours we could not reach the ship, for she got before the wind, and drove much faster than our little vessel could follow. Thus having death before our eyes, and, at the same time, the possibility of relief, increased our distress. A dark night came on, which made us more regardless and desperate to reach the ship. The master of her hung out a light, and, redoubling our energy, we began to get nearer and nearer. But, lest he should think we were lost, as the darkness precluded him from seeing us, and therefore make sail, we gave a loud shout whenever rising on the top of a wave. At length, by God's assistance, we drew very near the vessel, and, not to endanger our safety from too much haste, resolved to go up the side regularly, and in the same order in which we sat. However, we had no sooner arrived, than all strove, to run up at once, and, the seamen being more dexterous in the art of climbing, accomplished it in a moment, leaving me alone in the boat. I could not blame them, for life is sweet, and, when it is in jeopardy, each cares only for himself.

I was now in the greatest danger, for, besides a

natural weakness in my hands, they were so benumbed with cold and wet, that I was incapable of climbing a rope, though my existence depended on it. Nevertheless, I held fast by one thrown out, with both hands, to prevent the boat from staving off; and, while doing so, the boat struck three times against the ship's side, owing to the heavy sea, and as often the shock threw me down to the bottom, which was half full of water. Fortunately, the boat did not give way, and two seamen at length came down to assist me up the ship's side, which the weight of my clothes and weakness prevented. A rope with a noose was then handed down by a seaman, who directed me to put it about my middle; but he began to pull when I had got it over only one shoulder, and nearly drew me overboard. But, having secured myself, and the boat casting off, I was, in fact, drawn through the sea, where I made the narrowest escape; for the seaman having neglected to tie the rope, as he afterwards told me in England, it was prevented from slipping, by a knot which was by chance at the end, otherwise I must infallibly have gone down. I may truly say, there was not an inch between me and death. The next pull stunned me against the side of the ship; and, when I came to myself the following morning, I found the master's own cabin had been devoted to my service.

Though severely bruised, I arose from my cot to make inquiries concerning my fellow sufferers, and found them, contrary to my expectation, overcome with sorrow. Their looks were dejected, and every man brooding over his misfortunes. The truth is, that, having saved their lives, they now had leisure to think of the loss of their goods, though it bore differently on different individuals.

For my own part, the losses I then suffered, involved me in debt, from which I have not yet extricated myself. But what grieved me most, was being deprived of my whole library, and all my sermons, as also my notes and observations during my travels abroad, the fruit of many years labour and study. But I was impious to grieve for such losses, when God had so miraculously preserved our lives.

Next day, which was Tuesday, the wind was fair for Norway, whither our ship, which was a Howzoner, was bound. About twelve o'clock we came in sight of the coast, rugged and full of rocks; and, as we could not reach it during daylight, we designed to stand off and on till morning. Therefore, we sat down to a repast. Some of us had taken no sustenance since coming to sea, and I myself, having ate nothing for five days, now made a hearty meal.

About ten at night, when we had set our watch and prayed, and then laid ourselves down to rest, the ship, in full sail, struck on a rock, with a shock so great, that it awakened the soundest asleep. Though I was ignorant what had happened, the mariners, better aware of the danger, loudly cried, Mercy! mercy! mercy! I hastened out of my cabin, and, coming on deck, met the master of our own vessel, who, while tears streamed down his cheeks, desired me to pray for them, for we should certainly perish. I could not but believe the truth of what he said; so, falling on my knees, like a condemned person awaiting the stroke of the executioner, I began to pray. But, after having prayed some time, under perfect resignation to death, I wondered that the waves did not overwhelm us. However, it pleased God that the ship

had run herself so fast between two ledges of rock, with her bow over another, that she stood as firm as the rock itself. Thus, I immediately rose and pulled off my coat, designing to throw myself into the sea and swim ashore; but the height of the waves breaking against the rocks deterred me. The stern of the vessel was then beat in by the sea, which compelled us to retreat towards the bow, when Matthew Bird, the same seaman who had formerly drawn me on board, leapt ashore with a rope in his hand, and held it so securely; one end being tied to the mast, that another seaman got down by it. In this manner the whole of our company, and some of the Danes, who were eight-and-twenty in number, reached the rock in safety.

All this time I was ignorant of the means used for deliverance; but, perceiving the people crowd towards the head of the ship, I also repaired thither, and discovered what had taken place. A Dane was then endeavouring to slide down the rope and carry a small leather trunk along with him; but he presently removed his trunk, and desired me to descend. I repaid his kindness, by requesting him to do so first, not so much out of compliment, but that I might know how to slide down, as I had seen none go before me. However, I got on the rope, from which I was almost beat by the waves, and came safely to the side of the rock, whence I crawled, on hands and feet, to the rest who were ashore. I was the last who accomplished this manner of escaping.

The ship, at this moment, began to give way, which the master, who was still on board, perceiving, earnestly implored us to assist him with our utmost endeavours; but she broke up, and im-

mediately went down. Thus was that good man, and four of the mariners, drowned. I observed the master, with a light in his hand, fall into the sea ; and it was the saddest sight I ever beheld, to see him, who had saved our lives, lose his own : I cannot even now look back upon it without regret. Perhaps, had he not delayed on our account, he might have reached the haven of his voyage in safety.

We knew not where the rock which had received us was situated : some of the people, before my arrival, had ascertained it to be an island, but uninhabited ; thus we waited the rising of the sun, in hopes of discovering some coast or land in the neighbourhood. It was a long and melancholy night, for stone makes but a hard pillow, besides, having thrown off my coat when intending to swim, I was thinly clad. Wandering up and down the rock, I often fell, owing to its slipperiness ; and, wanting shoes, my feet were cut with the sharp stones. This being winter time, the cold was extremely piercing. At length we found a hole in the rock, which sheltered us from the wind, and then morning broke. During the twilight we flattered ourselves that every black cloud was land ; but when the sun arose, we saw nothing except a glimpse of the coast of Norway at a distance.

When I viewed the sea and the place, the sight of so many hundred rocks environing us struck me with amazement. It was only from God's providence that we had not gone among the breakers during night, and under full sail, instead of running between the two ledges, which proved an asylum. Had we touched in any other part, we must have instantly perished.

Our sole hope of relief was the approach of some ship, from which we might be seen ; but of this I thought there was little prospect ; for, should one accidentally come by day, she would be deterred by the surrounding dangers from giving us succour ; and, if she came in the night, she would certainly be wrecked, like our own vessel. Having seen nothing in the course of the whole day, we began to despair ; and, wanting sustenance to support us, and hardly having clothes to keep us warm, we crept into a hole of the rock, and there rested during the second night.

Next morning we arose before the sun, and some of our company, searching with their arms in the sea, drew out small mussels, which they ate heartily ; and one of the boys brought me a leaf of scurvy-grass : but I began to be sick with a feverish complaint, and became so parched with thirst, that I would have given all I had for a draught of fresh water. Trusting that the water which stood in holes would be freshest in the highest part of the rock, I sought for it, but it proved salt. I drank it, however, until my thirst was quenched, though vomiting followed, which I am persuaded preserved my life.

Between ten and eleven we saw a ship in full sail standing towards us, which lifted up our hearts with joy. She came nearer and nearer, and we all ascended to the top of the rock, and waved our hats to show ourselves to the men on board. But they neither approached, nor sent their boat ashore, to learn our condition, for what reason we knew not. The captain was a Dane, of the same country with our former kind master, which shows that there may be several dispositions under the same climate.

As the ship receded from us, our hearts began to fail, and our countenances changed to their former paleness; a true lesson that man's happiness is but for a moment,—that the joy of this world is but a span long.

We conceived ourselves utterly abandoned; we could not suppose, even should another ship by chance come in sight, that the mariners would venture their own lives to save ours; therefore, we betook ourselves to our old remedy, prayers. The Danes first began their devotions, and, as long as I was able to speak, I prayed with the company. After some exhortation to my fellow-sufferers, I lay down on the rock, thinking I should rise no more in this world; but I overheard one of the seamen, he who had first leaped on the rock, say, "Let us make a raft and venture to sea, I had rather be drowned than lie here and be starved." The rest coincided with him, and, though the design was full of danger, every thing conspired to favour it; the water had at this time fallen, and left the bottom of the ship on the rock, the anchors, mast, and sails, lying also there, like linen on a hedge.*

The seamen soon broke up the mast, and untwisted a cable for small cords. Next they tied four or five boards to the broken mast, got up the mizen-top-mast, and made a slight stern; then having cut out a small sail, two Danes and two Englishmen embarked on the raft.

A moderate breeze carried the adventurers safely through the breakers, and towards that part, where, according to our supposition, the coast lay. We followed them as far as our eyes could reach, with great anxiety, for the hope of our deliverance rested in their safety; but we did not long remain

in suspense, for, before night, their security was announced by several yawls rowing towards us. They brought provisions likewise, which we little regarded, from our eagerness to get on shore. The rock where we were now situated, was called *Arnscare*; and, by God's goodness, having embarked, we reached an island in Norway, named *Waller Island* by its inhabitants.

This island is so inconsiderable, that Ortelius overlooks it in his maps, and, although unworthy to be remembered by him, it ought not to be forgotten by us. There was but one house where we landed, belonging to the parson, an honest Lutheran, whose family consisted of many individuals, all of whom shewed us no little kindness. They spoke the Norse language, which, I think, resembles the Dutch, for those of us who spoke Dutch, could partly understand them, and make themselves understood.

We made a shift to explain our misfortune to the people of the house. The relation drew tears from their eyes; and, whatever provisions they had being now set before us, the seamen soon repaired their long fasting. The ordinary bread of the inhabitants was rye pancakes, and they had beer, which was very strong. This reminded me of the English proverb,—“A cup of good beer is meat, drink, and clothing;” and surely these people thought so, for, though at such a cold season, they had neither stockings nor shoes, they kept themselves warm with beer.

Next morning we began to examine each others finances, to discover what money had been saved from the shipwreck. Suspecting concealment in one of our number, we searched him, and found no less than four-and-twenty pieces of eight, which

he undoubtedly stole from our bags in the boat, after our first shipwreck ; even then, when every moment we looked for destruction. It was well for us he had done so, for, in the second, our whole money was lost.

We remained in the island until Sunday, and, in the morning heard our landlord preach, after which he gave us a meal full of variety in one dish, as beef, mutton, lard, goat, and roots, mixed together, according to the custom here. We then parted with this good old priest, having returned him many thanks, accompanied with a little money ; and travelled to Fredericstadt, a city in Norway, on the coast. There we were kindly entertained by the burgomaster, whose chief discourse was in praise of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, though I wonder how he came to know him. Truly we were much indebted to this person, for he not only commanded several persons of the city to entertain us civilly, but provided ships both for Holland and England, and promised us some provision at his own charge. Everywhere we experienced great civility, and the people ran after us in the streets to bestow, what we needed, without asking.

Having left Fredericstadt we repaired to Oster Sound, three or four miles distant, where shipping lay, and laid as much provision as our stock could afford, into one bound for England. We embarked in the evening ; but in the morning, before making sail, a ship from Lynn in Norfolk coming in, was wrecked on the rocks near the harbour.

We had not been at sea above two or three hours, when great alarm arose from the ship very nearly striking on a half sunken rock, unseen un-

til almost touching it. But about noon we cleared ~~an~~ the rocks on the Norwegian coast.

A fair wind brought us in view of the English coast, near Winterton, after four or five days sail. There we saw the remains of a shipwreck, and the country people enriching themselves with the spoils of the unfortunate. At length, having reached Yarmouth Roads, we came to an anchor. However, it began to blow hard, and the ship, in driving, nearly ran foul of a Scotchman. But we brought up again, and rode securely through the night.

On a signal next morning for a pilot, four men came off from Yarmouth. They demanded no less than thirty shillings to carry me, a single person, ashore, while our whole stock was only two pieces of eight; and although I did long for land, I could not purchase it at such a rate, therefore they were content to take less. But no sooner had I got into the boat, than they rowed up and down to weigh anchors, for the storm during the preceding night had occasioned many ships to part their cables. Nevertheless, they were unsuccessful, and then made for the shore. The landing-place was so bad, that other four men, awaiting the arrival of the boat, ran up to the middle in the sea, and dragged it on the beach. I thence got into the town of Yarmouth, with a company of people at my heels, wondering at my sad, ragged, weather-beaten condition. The host of an inn, with a sign, the arms of Yarmouth, treated me with uncommon kindness, and I hope God will reward him for it.

CONDITION

OF OLAVE AND ANDREW ENGELBRECHTSEN ON A
BARREN ISLAND, 1652.

OLAVE and Andrew Engelbrechtsen, belonging to the parish of Guldsal in Norway, both brothers and students, set out on the first of August 1652, from the house of Toxen, the place of their nativity, to amuse themselves shooting and hunting among the high mountains separating Gulbrandsal from the province of Valdres. They designed to be only a few days absent, and, on the second of August, after proceeding about four Norwegian miles, which are rather more than twenty of English measure, they came to the lake of Ref, where they staid four days. Then, departing on the sixth, bending their course homewards, they first rowed to a very small island on the lake to take up a net which they had set there.

Whilst the brothers were on the island, which was but sixteen paces long, and half as broad, a sudden storm arose at east, from which a skiff that had carried them broke loose, and was driven over to the opposite shore. As neither could swim, they saw themselves exposed, by this accident, to the danger of perishing by hunger, for the island was altogether barren.

Besides hunger, they had also to endure a piercing wind, and the cold of night. Having left their travelling necessities on the banks of the lake, they were so thinly clothed, that they would have soon perished from the inclemency of the weather, had not the invention of one of them suggested the expedient of building a little hut of stones, by which they were, in some measure, sheltered : but they fasted the whole of the first day, being destitute of any kind of subsistence.

The appetite of the brothers growing keen towards the end of the second day, their next care was to search whether this confined spot did not afford some succulent vegetables ; but their labours were fruitless, until they happened on a sort of broad-leaved grass, or dog-violet. Of this each ate about an ounce twice a-day, being all which they could find at a time ; and, as in such extremity, they frequently implored the assistance of Heaven, their slender repasts were always attended with a prayer. The leaves of bushes, with which they tried to assuage their hunger, proved too bitter.

After thus devoutly consuming their pittance of grass, they felt their stomachs and their spirits refreshed, and acute pains, which affected their head and shoulders, were abated. But the most remarkable circumstance of all, was the proportion in which the grass was dealt out to them, and the sudden reproduction of it ; for, according to the account which they, from a principle of gratitude to God, themselves published, they daily found no more than the quantity above specified. On the succeeding day their search was duly answered, though but the day preceding they had tore up all the grass, and even the moss itself, to make a kind of bolster in their hut. Towards the

period of their misfortune they met with more than at first ; but, on the twelfth day, the vegetable had entirely failed, and not a blade of it was to be seen.

They then met with something which had hitherto escaped them, though their search was bounded by such narrow limits. This was a small spot quite overgrown with sorrel, which they cleared, and fed on the plant with devout cheerfulness ; yet, in the evening, when Andrew Engelbrechtsen crept thither, being unable to walk, he found it had sprung afresh. It may be surmised, that this was another spot which had not been touched, but he declares, that he and his brother had particularly marked the place by a piece of wood lying near it.

Meantime, these young men, amidst their distress, did not abandon all hopes of being delivered by persons who might resort, as many did, to the surrounding mountains, in pursuit of the same amusement which had attracted them.

The instrument which Providence at length employed for their preservation, was their dog. After remaining eight days beside their little baggage, on the banks of the lake, the faithful animal had returned home howling and moaning ; and, from the grief which it displayed, their friends concluded that some misfortune had befallen them. A man was therefore immediately dispatched to the mountain in quest of the wanderers. Arriving on the eleventh day of their abode on the island, he could see nothing but their clothes, and, conjecturing, from appearances, that the owners had not been there for a considerable time, returned with intelligence that they were probably drown-

On the twelfth day, being the 17th of August, Jøsef Engelbrechtsen, seeming to be at the last extremity, and his heart throbbing so violently as to be heard, both he and his brother gave themselves up to despair. Andrew, the younger, with what remains of strength he possessed, cut out, on some pieces of timber, most exposed to view, a concise relation of their unhappy fate, and the text on which he desired their funeral sermon might be preached, Psalm lxxiii. v. 22, 26. After this, they mutually encouraged each other in the hope of eternal felicity; to patience and perseverance in faith; and, totally despairing of all temporal relief, as their sole support had failed, recommended themselves to God.

But in the night between the twelfth and thirteenth day of their famine, being the 18th of August, their hearts were revived by the sound of horses galloping up the mountains. Crying out as loud as they were able, and being heard, the riders hastened to their assistance, and, putting off in their boat, which had providentially received no damage, carried them ashore.

The elder brother could eat very little of the food offered to him, and the little he did take, threw him into such a state of sickness, that he was confined eight days to bed after his return home. However, he survived his perilous situation thirty-seven years. The younger brother suffered less inconvenience; and, in the year 1691, drew up an account of the case of both. He shewed particular gratitude to God that their dog had not obeyed their call in swimming across the lake, when they used every means to entice him, that on his flesh their lives might be preserved: But the poor animal was otherwise ordained to be the means of their deliverance.

LOSS OF THE BLEEKER,

A DUTCH WHALE SHIP, 1670.

IN the year 1670, Captain Jan Lourensz Pit, of the Bleeker, a Dutch whaler, was suddenly drove among the ice by a south-east wind, which, added to the turbulence of a stormy sea, rendered all attempts to manœuvre the vessel abortive. Every exertion was made to save her, but in vain ; therefore she was abandoned by twenty-nine of the crew, who, by means of some poles, with which they fortunately provided themselves, leapt from one lump of ice to another, until gaining a firm and extensive field. They had taken the precaution of dragging boats along with them, in case of extreme necessity, and these had been preserved with infinite difficulty. Having reached the firm ice, they rested on it in the most advantageous condition in their power, but exposed, during twenty-four hours, to piercing cold.

The captain of the Bleeker, with seven men, remained on board, in hopes to regain the open sea, by availing himself of some wide openings in the ice ; and he had even prepared to make the attempt. Unluckily, the topsail was carried away by the ice, which occasioned the loss of the vessel, for she beat to pieces against it. When she struck,

The captain quickly got out the boat, and leapt into it, along with the seven sailors, his companions in misfortune. He ranged along the solid ice, ignorant of its extent and termination ; because such quantities of snow were falling, that the people could hardly see each other in the boat. At last it ceased, when the captain observed the men who had taken refuge on the ice, and made a signal for assistance. One of them, the harpooner, came to the edge, and threw out a rope's end, by which means the captain and his seven companions made their escape.

All the crew remained twelve hours longer on the ice, trusting to discover some vessel to deliver them ; but, losing every hope of succour, and exhausted by hunger, thirst, and cold, they resolved to embark in four boats. They followed the captain's counsel, and gained the open sea, where, abandoning themselves to Providence, they were tossed about during twelve hours more, still exposed to the greatest danger. Then a sail was discovered before them, a sight well calculated to revive their hopes and courage ; and struggling to reach the vessel, at length happily arrived. They found that she belonged to their countryman, Captain Parshout, who gladly received them, notwithstanding he exposed himself to the hazard of running short of provisions, by burdening himself with the addition of another crew, in a region where no supplies can possibly be procured.

DANGERS AND DISTRESSES

OF THE DUTCH IN THE GREENLAND SEAS, 1675,
1678.

CORNELIUS Nicholas Bille, lost his ship with a valuable lading, just at the moment when proposing to return to Holland, for he was unexpectedly surprised by the ice, which crushed the vessel in pieces. The crew, consisting of 34 persons, then committed themselves to the boats, and were tossed about fourteen days, suffering hunger, thirst, and cold; until having fortunately fallen in with the ship *Kruiskerk* of Haarlem, they were saved from imminent danger, in a climate where there is no refuge.

Thirteen other whale ships perished the same year, among the ice of *Smeerenbourg* in *Spitzbergen*.

Bille lost a second ship in 1675. He had anchored in company with another called the *Red Fox*, near the solid ice; when huge masses were suddenly drove against the vessel, and beat her to pieces also. The crew were fortunately on deck, and had time to save themselves on the neighbouring ice; but the wreck was driven below it. Both crews of the vessels collected together, and, by incredible exertion, contrived to save five boats, with some provisions; and hardly had they escaped, when one of the two ships was divided asunder; the fore part was forced under the ice, and

the stern, after being dashed about in the sea, disappeared. No relief being expected by the seamen, who were sixty in number, Bille proposed to drag the boats to the edge of the ice, and launch them in defiance of all danger. The pilot and a few more assented, but the majority preferred remaining where they were, until the sea calmed, and the snow ceased to fall. Then the provisions were partitioned, and the former party embarked in two of the boats; and, after separation from their comrades, were so fortunate as to find other ships, that took them on board.

Those remaining on the ice prepared a kind of tent, with pieces of old sails, that they had been lucky enough to preserve from the wreck. But, in two days, they had suffered so much cold, as well as hunger, that they resolved to commit themselves to the uncertainty of the sea. Here they were buffeted about, without discovering any vessel, until, at last, a French ship came in sight, which afforded an asylum to the whole.

After sailing some time, the shipwrecked mariners descried a vessel of their own nation, eight of them leapt into a boat, and hastily made the best of their way towards her. But they were repulsed by the captain, a cruel and avaricious man: who refused to admit any one of their number. Thus being forced again to take refuge on the ice, they sheltered themselves under a tent, which they prepared behind the place where the ship had anchored. There they passed two days and a night, in the utmost distress, when the captain, more affected by the reproach that would await him on returning to Holland, than by their misfortunes, allowed them to lie on board. In a few days this barbarian sailed, leaving the unhappy sailors be-

hind without any resource. For twelve hours they followed him in their boat ; but he hoisted all sail, and mercilessly forsook them. However, they were not abandoned by Providence ; luckily, when on the point of perishing, they fell in with another Dutch ship, whose crew considered it a duty to give them relief.

The ship Eendragt was also unfortunately wrecked during the same year, in 76° of north latitude, where, after a successful fishery, she was drove under the ice, and sunk in a moment. This catastrophe was so immediate as to preclude the crew from any precautions against it : they had scarce been able to leap on the ice, but all were saved by another vessel belonging to Holland.

Three Dutch whalers having anchored together in the Waygats Straits, close to an island of ice, on the 13th of August 1676, their captains prepared to return to Holland, with the produce of their labour, when they were suddenly assailed by a vast quantity of drift ice, soon forming into an immense field. The captains hastily mounted to the tops of their respective ships, seeking to discover either an outlet or the open sea. But the ships were fast frozen in, and, although the tide was at its highest, they remained motionless on its fall.

The crew, in despair, threatened to forsake their commanders, and vented their murmurs, at being exposed to die of hunger and cold ; for they could have no prospect of succour. One of the three, named Cornelis Gerritsz Ouwe Kees, succeeded, though with great difficulty, in persuading them to remain yet some time by the vessels along with him, lest it might become possible to save their valuable lading.

After nineteen days of alarm and distress, the weather all at once grew mild, and, in the space of a single night, there was so strong a thaw, that the ships could sail next morning. The joy of the crew is indescribable; without losing time in getting up their anchors, they hastened to cut the cables, and towed the vessels out of the Waygats, until they came opposite to Papegaaishoek. There having set sail, they arrived that same day at Cape Biscay, and the second day made South Bay; whence they reached Holland in safety.

Here it is to be remarked, that these three ships were surprised by the ice at an unusual season, and got clear of it at the most unexpected moment. The resolution of Captain Ou've Kees, towards his crew, alone saved the cargo; otherwise, had they in desperation followed their own purpose, inevitable destruction would have ensued.

SHIPWRECK

OF CAPTAIN JOHN WOOD, 1676.

SEVERAL voyages, as we have already seen, had been undertaken from different commercial countries of Europe, towards the north, for the purpose of discovering a north-east passage to China and Japan. All, however, from accidents of different kinds, proved unsuccessful, and the object, after being pursued for about a century, was for some time laid aside.

Towards the year 1670, opinions of the practicability of following that track were revived, and Captain John Wood, an intelligent navigator, was among the strongest supporters of it. His sentiments on this head were founded on the written narratives of those who had attempted the passage, on oral accounts which he himself received, and certain philosophical hypotheses which he formed respecting the figure of the earth, and the variation of the needle. He therefore prepared a chart, pointing out the course of former navigators, and along with illustrations of his own opinion on the point, presented it to King Charles II. and the Duke of York, afterwards King James II.

If this track could be followed, he maintained that he could sail to Japan in six weeks, which, by

the ordinary course, occupied nine months; and, considering the difficulties of navigation between Bantam and Java, where numbers of ships are yearly cast away on 'rocks and shoals, the north-east passage would be attended with fewer dangers. Mercantile interest would likewise result from opening a trade with the coast of Tartary and the Island of Japan itself.

These reasons having been duly weighed, the king granted Captain Wood the command of the *Speedwell* frigate, manned by sixty eight men and boys, with all necessary appurtenances. She was fitted out with great care in the king's dock-yard at Deptford, and particular attention paid to adapting her to the service she was to perform, and in strengthening her sheathing.

Eight persons, at the head of whom was the Duke of York, were likewise at the expence of fitting out the *Prosperous* pink of 120 tons, and eighteen men, to accompany the *Speedwell* on the voyage. There was a quantity of merchandize put on board, especially cloth, which it was thought would be saleable on the coast of Tartary, also articles suitable for Japan; and both vessels were victualled for eighteen months.

On the 28th of May 1676, the *Speedwell* sailed from the Nore, and, on Wednesday the 31st, was off Newcastle and Berwick, the intermediate land, bearing west eight or nine leagues. Next day, she chased a Scotch fisherman, and, having come up, purchased some fish. On Friday the 2d of June, it blew hard, and she turned into Brassay Sound, in the Shetland Islands, with a heavy gale from west-north-west. There she anchored opposite to the town of Lerwick, where there were the remains of a fort built during the Dutch war, but

demolished at the peace, lest any other nation might take possession of it.

On Saturday the 10th, the *Speedwell* sailed, and had chiefly thick cloudy weather for several days. The island of Sanden bore south by east, distant eight or nine leagues, on Monday the 19th, and, on Tuesday the 22d, ice was seen a league ahead at noon; the weather then became very cold, with slight showers of snow. The ship stood into many creeks or openings of the ice, which were all found to be bays: The fog froze as fast as it fell on the 25th, and nothing but ice to be seen from the mast-head.

Something being observed to move on the ice, a boat was sent out to examine it; the crew found two sea-horses, which they fired at; but the animals, though severely wounded, escaped into the water, and got under the ice. It is difficult to kill sea-horses, for they are very shy, always lying on the brink of the ice, ready to take the sea.

On the 27th, the ship ranged along the body of ice, and found it joining with the coast of Nova Zembla, distant 15 miles. Next day she was embayed among the ice, while a gentle breeze prevailed and soft weather.

On the 29th, the ship was likely to be surrounded by the ice in the morning, and, as the weather was foggy, Captain Wood stood to the southward, intending to spend some time there until it cleared, and then come up to the ice again to see whether it had shifted its place; but the whole day proved foggy and disagreeable, with a westerly wind. The land of Nova Zembla bore east south east by reckoning four points under the lee-bow. In this, however, he was mistaken. About ten or eleven at night, Captain Flawes of the *Prosperous*,

being on the weather quarter, fired a gun and bore down, exclaiming, there was ice ahead. Captain Wood then looking out, saw something under the bow, which he soon perceived was breakers and not ice. Had he tacked at that moment, as Captain Flawes was to windward, he would have fallen on board of him, whereby both vessels would undoubtedly have been lost. Therefore, he was forced to bear up, in hopes of clearing the breakers, but the ship being long in wearing, struck on a rock, her head lying to the sea; had she not been in that position, and her broad-side to the sea, the whole crew would have perished beyond redemption. Captain Flawes, in the meantime, having a shorter ship, wore round, and, coming close under the Speedwell's stern, stood out to sea.

Here the Speedwell lay beating three or four hours, the crew making every exertion to save her, though all in vain: for it blew so hard, that it was impossible to carry out an anchor capable of any effect. Soon afterwards, they saw the land close under their stern, to their great amazement. The mist had previously obscured it from view; therefore, Captain Wood commanded his men to get out the boats before the mast should come by the board, which was done. The ship was lightened by throwing over the provisions, and staving the water and beer, and, with the ebb tide, she fell above three feet; but the flowing of the tide again brought a great sea, and she beat very hard. Now, as the water gained on the pumps, the mast was cut away.

Captain Wood sent the boatswain towards the shore in the pinnace, to examine whether there was any possibility of landing, which he much

dreaded, as the sea ran so high. In half an hour he returned, saying, it was impossible to save any of them, because there was such a heavy sea, and the snow being piled up on the shore, it was inaccessible. Thus all thought it was time, for the safety of their souls, to go to prayers, as nothing but universal destruction appeared before them.

After rising from prayers, they found that the weather had cleared a little, and Captain Wood observed a small beach right astern of the ship, where he thought there might be a possibility of landing. He therefore sent out the pinnace again with several men, but they durst not venture on shore; seeing this, he sent the long-boat, with twenty men, who succeeded in landing; and the pinnace also made a successful attempt, after which both the boats returned to the ship. Bread was then got up out of the bread-room, and brought into the great cabin; and the carpenter prepared to save some tools and other articles to enlarge the long-boat, should Captain Wood not fall in with the *Prosperous*. Some men having remained on shore, sent to him for fire arms, as there were many bears in the vicinity; therefore, he caused two dry barrels of gunpowder be put into the pinnace, small arms, provisions, and also his own papers and money. But a sea overset her, as she put off from the ship, whereby every thing was lost; John Bosman, cooper's mate, drowned, and several others taken up for dead.

The long-boat being then ashore, though not within view of the vessel, the people, hearing the rest cry out from on board, came off and saved the men: the pinnace, however, was shattered in pieces. The sea ran excessively high when she returned, on which account, the boatswain and

others urged Captain Wood, and his lieutenant, to leave the ship, saying, it was impossible for the boat to live longer in such a sea, and that they would rather be drowned, than that Captain Wood should suffer; but desiring him, if he did get ashore, to return the boat for them.

Captain Wood set out, and, when half way to the land, the ship overset, whence, having hastily landed the men, he put off again, endeavouring to save those who had been so kind to him before. With great hazard he reached the ship's quarter, and all came down the ladder into the boat, except one man, Alexander Frazer, a good sailor, who was left for dead. He then returned, and landed in safety, though very wet and cold. About a flight-shot from the beach he found his people making a fire, and likewise a tent with canvas and oars, which they had saved for the purpose, where they all lay that night, cold, wet, and weary, after casting a trench around them, as a protection against the wild beasts.

Next morning the man left on board recovered, and got into the mizen-top, that being the only mast standing. The ship laboured and beat violently; and it blew so hard, and such a sea was running, that it was impossible to save him.

The ship then began to break up, and much of the wreck came ashore, therefore the crew got oars, spars, and deals, of which they made several tents, preserving the rest for fuel; and the same continued on Saturday the first of July, when two casks of flour, some brandy, a butt of beer, and a cask of oil were saved, which proved of much utility; and on Sunday they saved a few more provisions. While the gunner was securing them, a large white bear came down, on which he fired, and it fell;

but, having rose again, ran at him, when more men coming up also fired and killed it. This animal was of great size, very fat, and its flesh well tasted.

Here Captain Wood and his men lay, always in hopes of clear weather, that the Prosperous might have a chance of seeing them, though they were in some measure apprehensive that she also was cast away. Captain Wood, protesting for the chance of not seeing her again, began to think of lengthening the long-boat twelve feet, as she could now carry only thirty men. But the crew being doubtful of this succeeding, from the little assistance that could be rendered to the carpenters, and the want of materials to complete the work, would not consent to the boat being cut asunder. Thus the waste was raised two feet, and she was decked. When finished, the men could not agree who should go in her, for she was still too small for the whole, and became extremely unruly in their sentiments and conduct, each thinking he had as great right to be preserved as another; and some even went so far as to propose to stave the boat, that all might share the same fortune. Captain Wood, by supplying them liberally with brandy, preserved the means of preventing them from putting their intentions in execution. Several designed going by land, which he knew was utterly impossible, from wanting both arms and ammunition to defend themselves from the wild beasts; and, had it even been practicable to traverse the ground for bogs, meeting with rivers would have opposed their progress.

The weather continued foggy, with rain, frost, and snow, until the eighth of July, when it cleared up in the morning, and, to the great joy of the shipwrecked mariners, they saw a sail. They im-

mediately kindled a great fire to attract attention, and sent out their yawl to meet the vessel, which proved the Prosperous. Her captain speedily sent off his boat, whereupon those ashore immediately broke up the work they had put on their long-boat, launched her, and got on board the Prosperous. Every thing they had saved from the Speedwell was left on shore, lest the weather might again become foggy.

The Prosperous sailed on Sunday the 9th of July for England, and anchored at the Nore on the 23d of August.

Captain Wood, before his departure, wrote a brief account of his voyage, and the accident that had befallen him, and, having enclosed it in a glass-bottle, left it in the place he had built.

He named the point where the ship was lost, Point Speed-Well, which lies in $74^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and 63° longitude, east of London. The next point to the southward is the westernmost part of Nova Zembla. The sea-water, about the ice and land, he remarked as being extremely salt, and very clear; nay, the clearest in the world. He could easily see the bottom at the depth of 80 fathom, or 480 feet, and could even distinctly observe the shells.

The snow lay deep on the shore, and the beating of the sea washed far below it, leaving projecting precipices, terrific to behold. The hills were covered with snow; small rivulets, consisting of good water, from the melting snow, ran down to the sea. The country was chiefly covered with snow. What was bare was boggy, on which grew a kind of moss, the only vegetable of the country, with a small blue and yellow flower. About two feet under the surface of the earth was a solid bo-

dy of ice, which Captain Wood remarks is a circumstance that was never noticed before; and, on the whole, concludes the country to be the most miserable on the face of the earth.

Nova Zembla, called *Novaya Zemla*, or *Newfoundland*, by the Russians, is a bleak and barren island of considerable extent, stretching between $69^{\circ} 30'$ and $77^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, and from 53° to $78'$ east longitude, in the Frozen Ocean. Such is nearly its position, according to *Zorgdrager* and the latest observations. By these also it appears to consist of two islands, as the Russians are said to have discovered a narrow strait by which it is divided. The Straits of Waygats, or Vagatskoi, separate *Nova Zembla* from the Continent on the south; but most of the eastern coast, towards the Icy Sea, is yet unexplored. Several parts of the western coast are better known, particularly from the incidents which have been related in this volume.

A more recent voyage towards *Nova Zembla* was undertaken in 1768, by *Cornelius Duyn*, an intelligent navigator of the north seas. It was probably with the view of making discoveries, but, after reaching $73^{\circ} 55'$ north latitude, when not distant from the west coast, he was obstructed by ice, and obliged to resort to Spitzbergen.

Although some voyagers affirm they have seen the natives of *Nova Zembla*, it seems totally uninhabited, and such individuals were most likely Samoieds, who had crossed the Waygats Straits.

SHIPWRECK OF HANJEMON,

A JAPANESE, ON A ROCK NEAR VISIA GRANDE,
1682.

THE Dutch, well aware of the importance and utility of preserving an intercourse with those nations which were the chief source of their commerce, used formerly to send an annual embassy, from their East India Company, to the remote island of Japan. A vessel therefore sailed from Batavia in the year 1690, which had orders to touch at Siam in the course of the voyage. On board was Engelbert Kaempfer, physician to the embassy, a celebrated traveller, who had previously visited several eastern nations, and had embarked to gratify his curiosity in exploring a country but little known at that time, and with which, even now, we are hardly better acquainted. In the course of Kaempfer's interesting observations on the history of that island, the following brief narrative is introduced.

"Let me here make a short digression to relate the remarkable shipwreck and wonderful preservation of a native of Japan, now a passenger on board of our ship from Batavia to Siam, the narrative of which I obtained from himself. His name was Hanjemon; he was an honest and industrious

man, and, besides the language of his own country, he was well skilled in the Chinese, Tonquinese, and Cochin Chinese languages, as also in the Malay and Siamese. He was born at Firando in Japan, and, having left the land of his nativity, settled in the kingdom of Siam.

In 1682, Hanjemon embarked on board a large Siamese junk, bound for Manilhas in the Philippine Islands. There were, besides, sixty-four persons on board, and the pilot, who was a Portuguese. After a tolerable voyage, the ship struck on a rock, about two leagues distant from a small low-lying island, called, by the Portuguese, *Visia Grande*; on which the pilot and a few more got into the boat, and, in six days, made the coast of Tonquin, from whence they reached Siam. Most of the crew were carried out to sea, where, it is supposed, they perished.

Hanjemon and thirteen others were cast upon *Visia Grande*, being only two leagues, as already observed, from the place where the ship struck; fortunately there was good weather and a calm sea, otherwise they must have been exposed to inevitable destruction. This is a low flat island, where there are neither hills nor woods; however, some plants and bamboos grow upon it. It is only 363 fathoms in length, and 357 broad, and accounted one of the Philippines, because it is not far from the great island, or Manilhas.

Here Hanjemon and his unfortunate companions found numbers of birds, which were so tame as to allow themselves to be taken by the hand at pleasure. They are described as having long bills, and as being of four different kinds. One, among the rest, which was black and white, and called *pargine* by the Portuguese, proved the most use-

ful of the whole, because it bred upon the island, and there was a constant supply of eggs, which were almost as large as those of hens. The shipwrecked mariners thus obtained a subsistence; and they also caught large tortoises on the coast during six months; these, together with the eggs, which were to be had all the year round, proved a sufficient quantity of provisions. They likewise found a plant called *dracontium*, which is ate in India after its acrid juice is expressed.

All the wood cast ashore on the island was carefully collected by the shipwrecked persons: they made a raft of it, and, in fine weather, sailed to the wreck, whence they returned with whatever wood, iron, or utensils, they could procure. These things afterwards proved useful, in enabling them to catch fish, and to provide themselves with other necessaries. Their fire was kindled after the Indian manner, by rubbing two pieces of wood together; and they used large shells, called, by the Dutch, Father Noah's shells, for pots to dress their victuals. But, fearing that these would not long resist the fire, they besmeared them with the blood of the birds which were killed on the island; because they had by chance observed that this expedient would make them last much longer. In short, there was little wanting for the preservation of their lives but fresh water; and, to obtain it, they both dug pits in the ground in different parts of the island, and, collecting the rain water, preserved it in the large shells. All the wood which continued to be cast up was also specially preserved.

In this manner they lived eight years, during the course of which they lost three of their num-

ber, and the survivors had no other prospect than of ending their days in the same solitude.

At length, the desire of returning to their wives, friends, and relations, urged them so powerfully, that they unanimously resolved to attempt building a boat, or more properly the semblance of a boat, out of their stores of wood, and rather trust themselves once more to the waves than lead such a wretched and comfortless life on a desolate island. Therefore all set to work, and completed a boat; which, being done, they embarked, eleven in number, ignorant where fate or good fortune might carry them.

After tossing about thirty-one entire days, and enduring innumerable hardships, they made the Bay of Tonquin in the island Haynan, and luckily on the part lying towards Canton, which belongs to the Chinese; for the other side, towards Cochin-China, belongs to a cruel and savage people. The Chinese governor received them with great humanity, clothed, and sent them to Bantam, from whence three embarked on board a Portuguese vessel bound to Batavia, where one of them remained. Hanjemon and his companion being the other two, returned to Siam on board the ship that carried me, the relater of the narrative. The latter of these two understood, to his great grief, that his wife, becoming impatient from his tedious absence, and despairing of ever seeing him again, had married a Portuguese, by whom she already had a child."

SHIPWRECK OF KING JAMES VII.

WHILE DUKE OF YORK, 1682.

THE following brief narrative, which is contained in a letter from Sir James Dick, Baronet, of Prestonfield, to his friend in London, dated Edinburgh, 9th May 1682, gives a more particular account of the disaster which occurred than any that is hitherto known.

“Upon Sunday last, at eight o'clock at night, his Royal Highness (the Duke of York), and his retinue that were alive, arrived here, there being a most sad disaster upon the Saturday before. At seven o'clock in the morning, the man-of-war called the Gloucester, Sir John Berry captain, wherein his Highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one, did strike in pieces, and wholly sink, upon the bank of sand called the Lemon and Oar, about twelve leagues from Yarmouth. This accident was occasioned by the wrong calculation and ignorance of a pilot, which put us all in such consternation that we knew not what to do. The duke and the whole that accompanied him were in bed when she struck; and the helm of the ship having broke, the helmsman was killed by the force of it. When the duke had got on his clothes, he inquired how matters stood, the

vessel having nine feet water in the hold, and the sea running in at the gun-ports. All the seamen and passengers were not under command, from every one studying his own safety, whence the duke was forced to go out at the large window of the cabin, where his little boat was secretly ordered to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have so thronged in upon him as to drown the boat. It was accordingly conveyed in such a way that none but the Earl of Winton and the Lord President of the Court of Session, with two of his bed-chamber men, (of whom one was afterwards Duke of Marlborough), went with him, but were forced to draw their swords to keep the people off. We, seeing his Highness gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the ship's boat, whereinto the Earl of Perth got, and then myself, by leaping off the shrouds into her: the Earl of Marchmont, after me, jumped in upon my shoulders, and then the laird of Touch, with several others that were to row. Thus we thought the number sufficient for her loading, considering the sea run so high by a wind from north-east, and because we saw another boat close by the one containing the duke overset by the waves, and the whole people in her drowned, except two who were observed riding on the keel.

This made us desire to be gone; but before we were aware, twenty or twenty-four seamen leapt in upon us from the shrouds, which induced all the spectators and ourselves to think we were sinking; but having got out of reach, and being so crowded, prevented an hundred more from doing the like.

Among those that were left were my Lord Roxburgh and Laird Hopetoun, and Mr Littledale,

Roxburgh's servant, and Dr Livingston, the President of the Court of Session's man : all these being at the place where I jumped from, would not follow, since it seems they concluded that it was safer to stay in the vessel than to expose themselves to any other hazard. But all were in an instant washed off or drowned.

There perished in this disaster above two hundred persons ; for I reckoned there were above two hundred and fifty seamen, and I am sure there were eighty noblemen and gentlemen, their servants being excluded. My computation was, we were about three hundred and thirty in all, of which I cannot understand one hundred and thirty to be saved.

The difficulties and hazards of us that were in the boat rendered it wonderful that we should all be preserved : had it not been thought that our whole number should have been dead men, I am sure many more would have jumped into the boat above us, where we were so thronged we had no room to stand. Therefore, while forcing off from the ship, as she was sinking by degrees all the time, she had like to have drawn the boat down ; and, besides, the waves were so boisterous, as to endanger our striking in pieces against the wreck while thus sinking ; and it was not without very great difficulty that we got away.

When about to row to the nearest yacht, the waves were such, and we overloaded, that every moment we thought to have been drowned ; and, being about midway to the yachts, there were a great many swimming for their lives, who caught firm hold of the boat, and held up their heads above water, crying for help. This hinderance we kept off, and loosed their hands, telling them,

they would both be our destruction and their own. This, however, would not always force them off, until several joined together against them; but I was glad to get one taken into the boat, lest I should have been pulled out of it. Then it pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yacht's sides, being less than a quarter of a mile distant; but she durst come no nearer on account of the bank of sand where our ship was lost. If it had not been that there were guns shot from our ship, showing them our distress by that sign, the other men-of-war that were immediately following would have come into that same disaster: but they immediately bore off, and the four yachts came up as near as they durst, and sent off their boats to help; but all that could be done could not prevent this great loss of two hundred men, as I have said. I was in my gown and slippers, lying in bed, when the ship first struck, and escaped in that condition.

When unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the yacht's side, called Captain Saunders, we were like to be crushed to pieces by her, for by the greatness of the sea she almost run us down. At length a rope was cast, which was so managed that we came to the lee side, and there every man climbed for his life; and I, following their example, seized hold of a rope, and so made shift upon the sides until I came within man's reach, when at last I was hauled in.

When I looked back, I could not see one bit of the whole great ship above water, but about a Scots ell of the staff upon which the royal standard stood; for with her striking she came off the sand bank, which was but three fathom, and her draught was eighteen feet, so there was eighteen fathom water on each side where she struck, for she broke

in the deepest place. Now, if she had continued on the three fathom, and broke to pieces there, all would have had time to save themselves: but such was the misfortune, that she wholly overwhelmed, and washed all into the sea that were upon her decks expecting relief by boats, which certainly would have been if she had but staid half an hour more. So that to conclude this melancholy account, besides all the above persons of respect, our countrymen, whom I have enumerated, there perished of English, of respect, my Lord Obrien, and my Lord Hyde's brother, who was a lieutenant of the ship."

SHIPWRECK OF OCCUM CHAMNAM,

A SIAMESE MANDARIN, NEAR CAPE NEEDLES, 1686.

BY FATHER TACHARD.

THE origin of any connection between the rich and populous kingdom of Siam with Europe, arose from the enterprizing spirit of a foreigner, who insinuated himself into the favour of the sovereign. This person, often spoke of in contemporary histories under the name of M. Constance, was a Cephalonian Greek by birth, and sprung of noble parentage, but his real name was *Phaulkon*. He first came to England, and then went to India, where he was at length employed as a factor at Siam, Juthia, or See-y-thaa, as the capital of the kingdom is more properly called. Phaulkon realized some fortune, which he laid out in an adventure at sea, but was unluckily shipwrecked, losing a great portion of it. Meeting a Siamese of rank, however, who had experienced the same misfortune, and saved nothing but his life, he offered to carry him back to Siam, and purchased a bark for that purpose. They arrived there in safety, and Phaulkon being patronised by the person whom he had assisted, gradually accomplished his own elevation, until attaining one of the highest offices in the state. To promote his ambitious views, he availed himself of a connection formed with the French, and

was the source of an embassy which gave birth to the following adventures. Chiefly under his influence, Father Tachard, and some other Jesuits, gained a solid establishment in the kingdom of Siam ; and the presents sent to the king of France, on occasion of one of the embassies, amounted to no less than L. 60,000, an immense sum at that period. While Phaulkon survived, much intercourse was kept up with Europeans, subsequent to the shipwreck of Occum Chamnam : but after persuading the same king, mentioned in the narrative, who was childless, to adopt the son of a nobleman, educated in the Christian religion, and being suspected of a design to bring the whole kingdom under French domination, and change its religion, he was seized by a powerful minister of state, and put to death, with lingering torments, in 1689. Some years afterwards, his wife and daughter were seen begging a scanty subsistence from door to door, when nobody durst relieve them.

Phaulkon had sent out the embassy, with which Father Tachard sailed to France, in 1687, and obtained the history of Occum Chamnam's misfortunes in the course of the voyage.

The sight of Cape Needles reminded Occum Chamnam, one of the Siamese Mandarins then accompanying Father Tachard, of his shipwreck there some years before in a Portuguese vessel. The father having heard him affirm, that his adventures on that occasion were more extraordinary than usually fall to the lot of a traveller, was induced to request a recital of the particulars. It proved as he had expected; whence having obtained the corroboration of several credible Portuguese, the companions of his misfortune, he judged it worthy of meeting the public eye. Those who knew Occum

Chamnam at Paris, entertained no difficulty of believing him fully capable of all the remarks and reflections which the following narrative, which is given in his own words, contains.

“ The king of Portugal had sent a dignified embassy to the king, my master, for the purpose of renewing their ancient alliances and other affairs, of which, however, I am ignorant ; therefore the king of Siam, in return for this extraordinary consideration of the European prince, prepared an embassy, consisting of three great mandarins, with six others of inferior degree, and a large retinue, to visit the court of Portugal. Towards the end of March 1684, we embarked in a Siamese frigate, commanded by a Portuguese captain. The passage was long, difficult, and full of accidents, which seemed to prognosticate the bad success of our enterprise ; for we were five months at sea, though the distance is not great between Siam and Goa. In short, whether by the unskilfulness of the officers and pilots, or the adverseness of the weather, we were retarded until the fleet had sailed for Europe. This was a great source of mortification to us, as it retarded our return to Siam a whole year.

An interval of eleven months, which we spent in Goa, waiting for the fleet, did not appear tedious, because it was agreeably employed. The novelty and beauty of the edifices, the number of palaces and monasteries, and the riches and elegance of the houses and churches, long engaged our attention. Never having left my own country, I own that I was surprised to find a finer city than Siam elsewhere. Though the viceroy was hurt that the king, our master, had not written to him, he caused us to be magnificently lodged, and en-

tertained us at the expence of the king of Portugal during the whole period of our abode.

At length, on the 27th of January 1686, we embarked in a Portuguese vessel of thirty guns and 150 men. There were also many passengers on board, consisting, besides the ambassadors and their retinue, of three monks of different orders, a number of Creoles, Indians, Portuguese, and Mestres, or people of colour.

On the 27th of April, land having for three days been seen ahead a little to the right, the seamen went aloft to survey it; from their report, as well as other marks, the captain and pilots judged it to be the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, without themselves ascending to reconnoitre, or taking other precautions, they stood on their course, until two or three hours after sunset, when they supposed themselves beyond the land that had been descried. Then changing their course they steered more northerly. The weather being clear, with good moonlight and a fresh breeze, the captain, persuaded that we had doubled the Cape, set nobody on the mast-head to look out. The seamen, indeed, were on the watch, as usual, but it was only for working the ship; and they conversed together, unsuspecting of danger, until it became so imminent as to be inevitable. I was the first who discovered land. I know not what presentiment of our misfortune that night deprived me of sleep. Restless, I left my cabin to consider the ship, which seemed to fly over the waves; and casting my eyes further, I suddenly perceived a dark shade, close on the starboard. I was instantly alarmed, and asked the pilot whether it was not land. As he advanced to satisfy himself, those before cried out "Land, land, ahead, put down the

helm." The steersman hastily obeyed, but we were already so close on shore, that the ship struck thrice on a rock, in tacking, and stuck fast. The shocks were extremely severe, and we thought the vessel had gone to pieces; we ran to the pumps, but not finding a drop of water, the crew recovered a little from their fright.

We endeavoured to relieve ourselves from this critical situation, by cutting away the masts and lightening the vessel; but, before we could accomplish it, she was drove towards the shore. Mountainous waves first elevated her to the clouds, and then dashed her on the rocks below, with such rapidity and violence, that it was impossible she could long withstand it. We heard her rending in every part; the planks were tore asunder, and we beheld this huge fabric yielding and going to pieces, with a terrific crash.

The stern having struck first, it also first sunk in the water. In vain we now cut away the masts and threw the guns and lading overboard to lighten the vessel: our efforts were unavailing. She struck so hard on the breakers that her sides began to open below the gun-room, which was quickly filled. The water rose above the lower-deck, and reached the great-cabin, and soon it was waist deep on the second deck.

A loud cry was heard at this sight, and every one fled to the highest part of the ship, with such confusion and precipitation, that several, in hurrying to save their lives, ran the risk of losing them. The water always rose higher and higher, until the keel of the vessel reached the bottom of the sea, when she remained some time immoveable.

I cannot describe the terror and consternation which then prevailed. Who can figure the emo-

tions excited by the approach of certain death to so many ! Nothing was heard but shrieks, sighs, and groans. People rushed rudely together. Those who had been the bitterest enemies, were now reconciled in all sincerity. Some fell on their knees, or, prostrate on the deck, implored divine aid ; while others, in the hope of saving themselves, threw overboard casks, empty chests, yards, and spars. The tumult was such, that it deafened the crashing of the vessel breaking into a thousand pieces, and the noise of the waves, dashing with incredible fury against the rocks.

When the first excess of terror had subsided, those remaining on board thought of trying to save themselves. We made several rafts of the planks and masts of the ship ; for they who had thrown themselves into the sea, without taking sufficient precaution, were either swallowed up, or destroyed by the violence of the waves on the rocks. It was a melancholy sight to behold so many unfortunate persons, helpless amidst such imminent peril. My own affright was not less than that of the others, until, being assured there was some chance of escape, and, seeing that I, personally, should not lose much by this shipwreck, I quickly summoned up resolution. I had two good habits, which I put on, and, then committing myself to several planks tied together, endeavoured to reach the shore.* Our second ambassador, the strongest and the best swimmer of the three, was already in the sea before me, carrying the king's dispatches fastened to a sabre with which his majesty had presented him. Both gained the shore almost at the same moment, where we found some of the Portuguese, who were hardly in less distress than those remaining by the vessel. Though saved

from drowning, it seemed to be with the certainty of suffering a more dreadful fate in famine. They had neither water, wine, nor bread; they knew not where to procure food, while the severity of the cold on shore was now the more sensible from being unaccustomed to it. With regard to myself, as I was very thinly clothed, I saw that I should not long be able to resist its effects. This induced me to return next day to the vessel in search of clothing, and also food. Most of the Portuguese of rank had been accommodated on the gun-deck, and, besides other things, I hoped to find provisions in their cabin, which were of the utmost importance to us. The intensity of the cold, the fatigue of the night, hunger, and the little prospect of food, rendered the condition of the survivors almost as deplorable as the fate of those who had perished.

Using a kind of hurdle, I reached the vessel without much difficulty, and, as she still appeared above the water, I trusted to find gold, or jewels, or some other articles of value, easily carried away. However, I found every place full of water, and the only things to be attained were some pieces of gold stuff, a small case containing six flasks of wine, and an inconsiderable portion of biscuit. I fastened the whole on the hurdle, and, pushing it before me, gained the shore with much labour and hazard, and infinitely more fatigued than the first time.

Several of the Siamese had escaped quite naked. Compassionating their situation, for they stood shivering with cold, I shared the gold stuffs with them, which they converted to immediate use. But, sensible that the case of wine would not last long in their hands, I entrusted it to a Portuguese,

who had testified great friendship for me, telling him it was at his command, provided he would give me some of it when it was required. I soon had occasion to learn the weakness of friendship, when opposed to the impulse of necessity, and, that self, under the pressure of want, is the first consideration. My friend daily supplied me with half a glass of the wine during the first few days, in the confidence of discovering a spring or rivulet; but finding ourselves disappointed, and being tormented by thirst, my requests, for part of what I had bestowed in the warmth of friendship, were vain. My friend gave me so effectual a repulse the first time, adding, that even his father should not participate in it, that I could never venture to renew my solicitations.

Our bread was useless; it had become so salt and bitter from soaking in the salt water, that I could not swallow a single mouthful.

All the people having got ashore, we counted them, and found about two hundred; therefore, not above seven or eight had been drowned. Several Portuguese took the precaution of carrying along with them muskets and powder, either to defend themselves from the Caffres, or to procure game in the woods. These afterwards proved of great utility, not only in our personal protection, but in kindling a fire, without which, and drying our clothes, I believe that we should have died of cold.

On Sunday, the second day after our shipwreck, we began our march, the Portuguese having previously performed their orisons. The pilots and captain maintained that we were not above twenty leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, where the Dutch had a populous settlement, and that we

should take but a day or two to reach it. On this assurance most of the company left behind whatever provisions they had got from the vessel, on purpose not to be embarrassed by them. Thus we entered the woods, or, I should rather say, bushes, for there were no large trees, and we hardly saw any during our whole journey. We advanced all that day, stopping twice to rest ourselves. Having carried neither meat nor drink along with us, we began to feel the first attacks of hunger and thirst. The latter was particularly insupportable, because we had travelled all day, exposed to the rage of a burning sun, and had exerted ourselves in the hopes of reaching the Dutch settlements before night. At four o'clock we arrived at a large pond, which was a great relief to us. Each drank at his leisure, with an eagerness and enjoyment that he had never known before. The Portuguese considered it expedient to remain here all night. Therefore a fire was made, at which those who were fortunate enough to find a few crabs, roasted and ate them. But the greater proportion, after allaying their thirst a second time, retired to repose, more exhausted by the fatigue of a long journey than pinched by the hunger which two days fasting produced.

We departed early next morning, after each had drank copiously, to fortify himself against future want. The Portuguese led the van, as we were obliged to lag behind, because our first ambassador, being in a feeble and languishing condition, could not advance quickly. It was essential not to lose sight of the Portuguese, however, therefore we divided into three troops. The first always kept in sight of the last of the Portuguese, and the other two, marching at an equal distance asunder,

observed their signals; as preconcerted, to warn them when the Portuguese halted or changed their route. We passed several trifling hills, which, nevertheless, fatigued us very much; and on the whole way discovered only one well, the water of which was so brackish that we could not drink it. We now received a signal from the first troop, of the Portuguese having halted, whence we never doubted that it was from finding good water; and the hopes of sharing it quickened our pace. Notwithstanding all our exertions we could not bring up the ambassador before sunset. Our countrymen said that the Portuguese did not wish us to reach them; expressing, that it would serve us nothing to perish with them of hunger, thirst, and misery, and that it would be much better for them to precede us in search of some refreshments.

On this melancholy intelligence, the first ambassador assembled all the Siamese remaining behind, for three had always accompanied the Portuguese. He then told us, that he found himself so weak and fatigued, that it was impossible for him to keep up; therefore, he considered it better, that those in health should hasten to overtake the Portuguese; and he only directed them, since the Dutch settlement was not distant, to send him a horse or a litter, with some provisions, to carry him to the Cape, if he still survived.

This was a sorrowful, but necessary separation. A youth of fifteen, however, the son of a mandarin, between whom and the ambassador there subsisted a reciprocal affection, refused to leave him. This conduct, in resolving to live or die along with him, inspired an old domestic with the same determination, and he also remained with his master.

The second ambassador, another mandarin, and myself, took leave of him, promising the earliest succour that it should be in our power to send ; and then departed, in expectation of overtaking the Portuguese, though they were then at a great distance. Observing a signal made by the Siamese from the top of a mountain, made us redouble our steps. In spite of the utmost diligence, it was ten at night before we arrived at the mountain, where we thought to procure water, and repose for the night. In both of these things we were deceived ; and, after joining the Siamese, they told us that we were still far from the Portuguese, pointing out the fires they had made. However great our fatigue, advancing was indispensable ; and, after two hours travelling through bushes and over rocks, we reached their halting-place with incredible difficulty. They were posted on the declivity of a lofty mountain, where they had kindled a great fire, and now slept around it. We all sought for water. A stream being at a distance, one of my comrades brought me some, for I was unable to drag myself farther. I then lay down before the fire ; sleep overcame me, and in the morning I was awakened by the cold.

I now felt myself so weak, and so tortured by hunger, that a thousand times I prayed for death : indeed I resolved here to wait its approach, rather than advance in quest of new torments. But this resolution was but of short duration ; for, when I saw that the other Siamese and Portuguese, equally low as myself, nevertheless prosecuted their journey for the preservation of life, I could not stay behind. I even once got before them in ascending a hill, where the grass was very thick and long. My exertions, however, induced extreme fatigue,

whence, having removed a little apart, I was forced to rest on this beautiful verdure, where sleep overpowered me. The pain and stiffness of my limbs, when I awakened, revived my morning's determination: I expected death with impatience, as a relief to all my sufferings. Sleep again overcame me, and I should certainly have died on the spot, had not a mandarin, my particular friend, believing I had strayed, now found and awakened me. He said so much, that my courage was revived. I arose, and we went together in quest of the Portuguese, who halted beside a stream. Hunger pressed with such severity, that they set fire to the half-dried grass, in hopes of discovering some lizard or serpent, which might be ate. One of the number reported, that he felt his hunger appeased by eating leaves growing by the margin of the water; though bitter, the whole band eagerly hastened thither, and ate them with avidity.

Next morning, the fifth of our journey, we set out early. The certainty, as we conceived, of our vicinity to the Dutch settlement, renewed our strength. We marched incessantly until mid-day, when some men were seen on a height at a great distance. These we never doubted were the Dutch, whom we were in quest of, whence we proceeded with inexpressible joy. Yet these agreeable prospects speedily vanished. The people we had descried were three or four Hottentots, who, armed with spears, advanced towards us. Their apprehensions, at seeing such a numerous body carrying muskets, were no less than our own. We, on our own side, were overwhelmed with the dread of being mercilessly massacred by these barbarians; for only four or five appearing, and all bearing lances, we supposed their sole design was to re-

connoitre our force, and that their companions were near at hand. Satisfied that it was better to die at once than to protract a wretched existence, enduring sufferings a thousand times more cruel than death, we let them advance. But they, having ascertained, from a distant view, that our number was much greater than they had at first supposed, halted, in their turn, expecting our approach. Thus we remained in a painful state of uncertainty; however, after getting a little nearer, they walked away, making signs for us to follow, and pointing to three or four miserable huts, situated on a hill. They would not permit us to go nearer these huts than the bottom of the hill, but led us, though always with tokens of distrust, by a different path to another village. This we found to consist of about forty huts, covered with the branches of trees, and containing four or five hundred persons. Then considering themselves in security, they boldly advanced, and gazed on us at leisure. The appearance of the Siamese seemed peculiarly gratifying, whether from their dress, or from never having seen any thing of the kind before. At length their curiosity became troublesome, and we endeavoured to enter their huts, in quest of food; for notwithstanding we tried to make them comprehend our extreme hunger, and that we required a supply of meat from them, they answered our signs only by loud bursts of laughter. Next, when we attempted to signify our desire to purchase some of the sheep or oxen, which were grazing in great numbers throughout the country, they continually replied *tabac, patafac*. I offered them two large diamonds, given to me by the first ambassador at our parting, which were rejected with disdain. None of us

possessed either tobacco or patacas, the only coin they knew ; but the first pilot having come, he gave four for an ox, which the Hottentots were wont to sell to the Portuguese for its length of tobacco. What was that among so many people, half dead of hunger, who, for six days, had ate nothing but leaves. Besides, the pilot partitioned it solely among his own countrymen and his best friends ; none of the Siamese obtained a single morsel. Thus we experienced the cruel reflection of being exposed to die of hunger in the midst of abundance. The Portuguese, prohibited from going near the flocks of the Hottentots, declared, that if we attempted carrying off any of the oxen, they would abandon us to their resentment.

One of the mandarins seeing their disregard of gold as money, adorned his head with certain golden ornaments, and in that state appeared before them ; they were pleased with the novelty, and gave him a quarter of a sheep for the ornaments, which were worth an hundred pistoles. To what may we not be forced by necessity ? especially such cruel necessity as we then experienced. We ate the flesh half-raw, which but served to increase our appetite. The Portuguese, I had remarked, after skinning their ox, threw away the skin. This was now a treasure ; I imparted the secret to one of my friends, the same mandarin already mentioned, and, having happily been successful in a search for it, we broiled it on the fire. The skin served for no more than two meals, for being discovered by the other Siamese, we were obliged to share it with them. A Hottentot, who was viewing me attentively, stopped to gaze at the buttons on my dress : they were gold, and I made signs that he should have

them in return for something to eat ; he agreed, and went with me to procure it. I expected a sheep at the least, but he returned with a small vessel of milk, with which I was forced to content myself.

Here we passed the night beside a great fire, which we made opposite to the huts of the Hottentots. They howled and danced around them incessantly until day-break ; whence it was necessary for us to be on our guard, as there was little doubt, if they could dispatch us, they would not hesitate as to the means of so doing. In the morning we bent our course towards the sea-coast, where we arrived at mid-day, and regaled ourselves on the mussels scattered along the shore. Having satiated our appetite with these, we laid up a store for an evening repast, as it was indispensable to penetrate the woods in search of water. We sought diligently, though without finding it, until night, and then only a scanty stream extremely brackish ; but we could not delay until it settled. We encamped beside the rivulet, and each kept watch by turns during the whole night, alarmed for an attack from the Caffres. This was our invariable custom, shouting from time to time, to shew that the sentinel was on his guard.

Next day, being the ninth, we found ourselves at the foot of a lofty mountain, which we crossed with great labour. Hunger, that we could find nothing to appease, stimulated our exertions. Green herbs and flowers grew on an eminence near the summit, the least bitter of which we greedily devoured. But, in relieving the pressure of hunger, thirst was augmented, and now reached the most painful degree. We could discover no means of quenching it until night,

when we reached the foot of the mountain. There we rested; and then came to the resolution of not going farther inland, in hopes of shortening the way; in the first place, because the captain and pilots now acknowledged their mistake, for they could conceal it no longer, adding, that they were neither certain of the situation of the Dutch settlements, their distance from us, nor the road towards them: and, secondly, because, in coasting along the sea, we should find mussels, crabs, and other food, more easily than we should obtain provisions inland; wherewith we might appease the cruel cravings of hunger; and, lastly, because, all rivers and streams ultimately discharge themselves into the sea, we should not fail, by following this direction, of being less exposed to intolerable thirst.

Early next morning we proceeded to fulfil our resolution, by descending towards the coast, which we reached about ten o'clock. There was now seen an extensive shore, terminated by a great mountain projecting far into the sea. We viewed it with inexpressible joy, from being assured by the pilots that it was the Cape of Good Hope. Such agreeable intelligence renewed our vigour, therefore we marched on without halting, that we might reach it before night; and, although five or six leagues distant, we overcame the lassitude assailing us, and actually arrived at the base of the mountain. Unhappily, it was not the Cape we expected. After giving way to the chagrin of disappointment, and almost despairing of attaining the Dutch settlement, our mortification was somewhat abated, by information from a sailor who had been on the look-out, that he had found a peninsula near at hand, covered by mussels, and con-

taining a good spring of fresh water. We determined to pass the night upon it, but, finding the cheer so good, we remained all next day and the succeeding night also. Such abundance of food revived us.

Having assembled on arrival the first evening, at a little distance from the Portuguese, according to custom, we were surprised at missing one of our mandarins. In vain we sought him everywhere. His extreme aversion to the herbs and flowers, which were even disgusting to the rest, prevented him from so much as tasting them. Thus it was not wonderful that, after remaining so long without food, he sunk down on the way unobserved, and expired through hunger and weakness. Four days before we had lost another mandarin in the same manner. Misfortune surely hardens the heart. In any other condition but this, such a miserable death of one of my friends would have rendered me inconsolable; but now the loss of this mandarin, with whom I was particularly intimate, hardly made any sensible impression on me. Neither was more than a momentary expression of regret testified among the survivors, and each then set out in quest of food for himself.

Previous to leaving this peninsula in prosecution of our journey towards the Cape, we observed certain dead plants pretty thick and hollow within. Of these we resolved to avail ourselves; and each taking one, which was a long tube, closed the lower end, and filled it with water to drink through the day.

The pilots, considering our state of uncertainty, recommended that we should ascend the mountain, whereby we might obtain some idea of our position. Little persuasion was required, and we

climbed the heights, which were extremely rugged and precipitous; besides, it was necessary to use extraordinary efforts, that it might be accomplished in the course of the day. During the whole time we fed on herbs and flowers, which occurred but sparingly. In descending, full of regret at still being disappointed, we descried a troop of elephants feeding in a plain half a league distant. There might be twenty of them; and none were of remarkable size. Before sunset we came to the place, where we proposed to remain for the night, and then dispersed in search of food. None of the Siamese, however, except myself, could find either mussels or any thing else, on the shore or on land. After seeking long among the bitter herbs, which it was impossible to swallow, I perceived, in returning, a long slender serpent, and killed it with a dagger. We broiled it on the fire, and ate head, skin, bones, and all. The taste was good; indeed I never got more delicate food during the march.

This repast finished, we missed one of our interpreters. He had been appointed to accompany two mandarins to France, with a present from the king of Siam to his Christian majesty. We were now reduced to ten Siamese, including the two ambassadors. Next morning our departure was delayed until broad-day, owing to a thick mist at dawn, which obscured the whole horizon. But, before we advanced a quarter of a league, a violent wind arose, which, besides its extreme inclemency, and being directly in our faces, blew so strong that we could not make way against it. Perhaps our weakness rendered us more sensible of its effects. Whatever it was, we were obliged, instead of advancing straight forward, to stretch from right

to left and back again, as the tacking of a ship at sea. Rain came on at two o'clock, so thick and heavy, that we were quickly drenched by it; and it lasted until evening. Some sought shelter under a few dead trees; others crept into the clefts of rocks, and the rest stood close to the side of a ravine, squeezing themselves together to promote the mutual warmth of their bodies, and thus escape the vehemence of the tempest. It would be difficult to describe how much we suffered from cold, wind, and rain, during the remainder of the day and the succeeding night. The cravings of hunger that assailed us, and the scantiness of our drink, consisting only of the rain as it fell, seemed considerable in comparison. Even the fatigues of the preceding days were undervalued when balanced against the sensations we now experienced, augmented from inability to shut an eye to repose.

Never was a night so long and tedious: the mere appearance of day seemed to relieve us of half our pains. The torpor and lassitude produced by what we had endured may easily be conceived. But we Siamese were infinitely more astonished and afflicted when, on preparing to join the Portuguese as usual, they were no longer to be seen. In vain we looked around, shouted, and sought every where. Not only were we unable to see a single one of them, but we even could not discover the route they had taken. So cruelly abandoned, we felt the return of all our former evils: they were accumulated upon us. We were at once overwhelmed by hunger, thirst, and lassitude; chagrin, alarm, rage, and despair, took possession of our hearts. We stared at each other in stupefaction; a profound silence ensued, and all sentiment seemed to have vanished. At length,

being awakened from this condition, the second ambassador resumed courage the first, and thus imparted it to the rest. Assembling us around him, to deliberate on our conduct, he spoke in these words:

“ Faithful Siamese, you are equally sensible as myself of the unhappy state to which we are reduced. Though all was lost by our shipwreck, we had still some consolation. While the Portuguese remained they were our guides, and, in some respect, our protection against the wild beasts inhabiting these immense forests, and against the natives of these regions, even more cruel and ferocious than beasts. I would persuade myself, that, after being so well treated by them till now, urgent reasons alone can have induced them to leave us.

“ Were we not ourselves constrained to forsake our first ambassador, amidst a frightful desert, though with the full design of procuring him aid when it should lie in our power? In the loss of our two mandarins and other Siamese, we have experienced, that, under extreme necessity, the misfortune of others, the best beloved, makes but a slight impression; that, under our own continued sufferings, we at length cease to commiserate those of others. Thus I cannot blame the Portuguese; nay, their conduct is perhaps laudable. We should blame nothing but the accident which has separated us from them, and our inability to discover their route. Though they have truly abandoned us without any cause, this is no time to exclaim against them. It will not avert the evils by which we are menaced, to bewail their insincerity and want of faith. Let us endeavour to forget them entirely, and, by that means, banish the cruel remem-

brance of their forsaking us, or of our losing them ; and let us conduct ourselves as if our companies had never been joined together. The assistance we have derived from them may be dispensed with, and Providence, perhaps, in requital of the transcendent merits of our great king, will not allow us to remain destitute of succour. Thus, without farther deliberation, we ought to follow the coast, according to our previous determination.

“ But one thing more. You have witnessed my invariable respect for the dispatches of the great king, our master ; my first, or rather my sole anxiety during our shipwreck, was for their safety ; nor can I ascribe my own preservation to any other cause than the fortune which is inseparable from him who has once approached the throne. You have since beheld the circumspection with which I bore them ; when encamped on mountains, I have placed them still higher, and always above the rest of our body ; and, myself withdrawing lower, I guarded them at a respectful distance : and in the plains they were affixed to the top of the highest plants I could attain. During the journey they were borne by myself, and never entrusted to others, until I was unable to drag my limbs along. Now, in our present uncertainty, should I not be able to follow you long, I enjoin the third ambassador, in the name of our great king, to act precisely as I have done ; and should his strength also fail, to transmit these instructions to the first mandarin. I repeat, that the third ambassador must be equally circumspect about these august dispatches, if I die before him, so that some one of the Siamese may return them to the king, should they not reach their in-

tended destination. But should it be fated that none of us make the Cape of Good Hope, he to whom they are last entrusted, must bury them on some eminence, if he can, so that they may not be exposed to insult; and then he may die before them, testifying as much respect in death, as he was bound to shew during life. Such is what I recommend. Let us resume our pristine courage; let us never separate, but, taking easy journeys, trust that the fortune of our king will attend us, and that his reigning star will watch over our preservation."

These words made a deep impression on us all; there was none who did not feel himself inspired with vigour, and resolute to execute the ambassadors injunctions. We agreed that it was most expedient to follow the same route that the Portuguese had apparently taken, and set out without further delay. Before us was a great and lofty mountain, and towards the right a hill of lesser height. On ascertaining the steepness and ruggedness of the mountain, we were convinced that the fatigues of the Portuguese had prevented them from ascending it, though lying directly in their way; therefore we passed over the hill. The distressing night we had spent created uncommon pain to me through the day; not only from the stiffness and numbness of my limbs, but because my whole body began to swell in an extraordinary manner. Some days afterwards, a frothy kind of whitish liquid matter issued from all my body and limbs, attended with excruciating pains, which afflicted me during the remainder of the journey. Without actual experience, I could not have credited the power of the hu-

man frame to resist such accumulated evils for so great a length of time.

We walked very quick, at least what seemed quick to us, though in fact our progress was but slow, and at mid-day arrived much exhausted on the banks of a river about sixty feet wide, and six or eight feet deep. We doubted, however, whether the Portuguese had crossed this river, for although of no great breadth, the current was extremely impetuous; and in our own endeavours to pass it, we should have been carried down, had we not speedily regained the banks.

Still uncertain with regard to the Portuguese, we resolved on another attempt, attended with an expedient to do it with more safety. We tied all our scarfs together, designing that the strongest among us should cross to the opposite side, and fix the end to the root of a tree which was observed there; so that the rest, assisted by this line, might pass without danger of being carried away by the stream. A mandarin, the strongest of our number, undertook the enterprise; but hardly had he gained the middle of the river, when the violence of the current forced him to let go his hold, and he got over at the imminent hazard of his life. The impetuosity of the current was so great, that notwithstanding every exertion, he was thrown against a projection of the land where his shoulder was severely bruised, and he was otherwise much hurt. Ascending the side of the river, he cried that the Portuguese could not possibly have passed; therefore we desired him to rejoin us. However, he was obliged to go yet much farther up, before attempting to swim over, and then he had considerable difficulty in regaining our position. Satisfied, therefore, that the Portuguese, instead

of crossing the river, had marched up along the banks, we followed the same route after refreshing ourselves with water, for we had ate nothing during the day. Our conjecture was verified by finding a ragged stocking half a league from the outset. We next arrived at an excavation at the foot of a mountain, formed by nature as if for the reception of travellers. It was large enough to accommodate us all, and there we spent a cold, and consequently painful night; my limbs had for some days been swelled to such a degree, that I could bear neither shoes nor stockings; and now the swelling increased greatly from the cold I suffered through the night, and the humidity of the recess. On awaking in the morning, I found the ground below me covered with water and the froth that had issued from my feet. Yet weak as I was, I had still sufficient strength to accompany the rest at their departure.

It seemed as if in proportion to the accumulation of evils I endured, that my anxiety for the prolongation of life became greater; whether in growing more miserable, it became more precious, or that I put greater trust in its preservation, after having been exposed to so many dangers.

In continuing our progress up the river, we found additional traces of the Portuguese. Not far from the recess where we had slept, one of our people descried, a little apart, a musquet with a box full of powder, which doubtless some of them had cast away, when too weak to carry it further. This was a lucky discovery, for we were now exhausted with hunger, having yet found nothing to eat. Thus we kindled a fire, and observing that my shoes were not only useless, but embarrassing,

since I was always obliged to carry them, I cut them in pieces, and we ate them with great avidity, after being broiled. All the juice was out of the leather, but its bitterness was not intolerable. We tried the same with the cap of one of our attendants: however, it was so tough that we were obliged to reduce the pieces almost to a cinder, and then they were so bitter and disgusting, that, in spite of our famished condition, our stomachs refused to receive them.

After this repast we resumed our journey; and, in passing an eminence, obtained undoubted evidence of the Portuguese having followed the same route, along the margin of the river. One of our interpreters who had accompanied them lay dead; his knees on the earth, his head, hands, and body, resting against a hillock. Our other two interpreters being Mestees, that is, born of a Siamese mother, by a Portuguese, had forsaken us, to attend the Portuguese, on the same day that they quitted our party. Finding this one contracted together thus, in a place abounding with herbs, we judged that he had died of cold. We halted here, for it was a charming spot, covered with verdure, equally beautiful and good, and each laid in a small store of the most palatable leaves to eat in the evening.

We again resumed our journey; but now we began to be sensible of its fatigues, and, seeing that the Portuguese always kept before us, and that we had spent so long time exhausting ourselves in fruitless exertions to overtake them, we lamented our disappointment in coming so far under such inconveniences as we experienced. Above all, we regretted the peninsula, which three or four days ago we had left, and which contained both good water and plenty of mussels, the most acceptable

food we met in the whole way. Towards evening, our murmurs and chagrin increased, on finding two roads at the place we halted both extremely bad; independent of it being impossible to discover which of them the Portuguese had taken. On one side was a rugged mountain, and on the other a marsh, intersected by various canals, the source of the river we had hitherto ascended, which overflowed part of the country.

We could not persuade ourselves that the Portuguese had crossed the mountain, from its steepness; neither could we suppose they had passed the marsh, which appeared in most places full of water; nor were there the smallest indications leading us to believe they had done so. Under this embarrassment, a portion of the night was occupied in deliberating whether to advance or return. The difficulties before us seemed so great, from our being exposed to imminent hazard, in passing the marsh, and the danger of dying of hunger and thirst, in crossing the mountain, which would occupy one or two days at least, that we unanimously resolved on the latter. By common consent, therefore, we concluded to return to the peninsula, and remain there several days, waiting intelligence of the Portuguese. If after our provender was finished we received none, that we should then seek the Hottentots in the woods, and offer ourselves, as slaves to tend their flocks; a lot infinitely more mild than the miseries we were now exposed to; and we hoped that, barbarous as they were, our misfortunes would affect them, and the fidelity of our services would induce them to supply us with food, rather than see us perish before them. Surely our wretchedness may be duly estimated, from our willingness to be-

come subservient to a people, the most abject, vile, and beastly under Heaven, and whom we should even be reluctant to receive into our houses in a menial capacity.

We only waited the approach of day to put our determination into execution; and, at the earliest appearance of dawn, set out with so much courage and anxiety to revisit the island, and appease our hunger, which every moment became more insupportable, that we reached it in three days. A place so agreeable and salutary, was contemplated with extraordinary joy; each strove to be the first to enter, but the impatience of the most ardent was unavailing, for the flowing of the sea opposed his access. Properly speaking, this peninsula, or island, was a round elevated rock, about an hundred paces in circuit at full tide, and encompassed by numbers of smaller rocks, which were seen at low water. It was connected to the continent, by a pathway of sand, which could be traversed only when the sea fell; for the tides at present were so high, as to cover it above five feet deep. Here we passed five complete days, seeking mussels on the sand among the rocks, when the ebbing of the water admitted us. After collecting a sufficient quantity for the whole day, we ate one portion, and exposed another to the sun, or roasted it on the fire for evening's provision; but the neighbourhood was so desert and arid, that nothing, except a small quantity of dead wood, could be procured for kindling a fire, with which we could not dispense; for scarce could we obtain a few minutes sleep during the night, without awaking stiff and frozen.

Wood on the coast having failed, some of us advanced farther into the interior in search of it; but

the neighbourhood consisted solely of sandy plains and precipitous rocks, destitute of verdure. Nevertheless, we found a quantity of elephants' dung, which served two or three days for fuel. At length, this resource being also exhausted, the rigour of the cold compelled us to abandon the island which had thus furnished relief to our urgent necessities; and we resolved to go in quest of the Hottentots. Our distress augmented with the prospect of committing ourselves to the discretion of the most odious and barbarous race in the universe. But to what would we not have submitted for the sake of preserving that life which had already cost us so dear in the hopes of bettering our condition.

Thus we forsook the island with great regret, considering the food and fresh water it contained. We were the more induced to do so from obtaining no intelligence of the Portuguese, who we either supposed had all died on the way, or thought that they believed the same fate had befallen us; or, again, that those whom they had sent out to seek us were unwilling to wander as far as this remote island.

Before departing, we laid in abundant store of mussels and fresh water; each loaded himself with as much of both as he could carry. The first evening we halted by the side of a salt-water pond, close to a mountain where we had already rested. The benefit of our precautions in laying in provisions soon became evident, for we found nothing of the kind through the day. Willing to preserve the mussels for some more pressing occasion, we roamed about in search of herbs or leaves next morning; and some of us went into the pond in quest of fish. However, it contained only mud and salt water

While all dispersed in this manner, those beside the pond discovered three Hottentots approaching from the right : we immediately assembled on a preconcerted signal, and then awaited the arrival of the strangers, who were hastily advancing. We soon discovered, from the pipes which they used, that they had intercourse with Europeans; but we were much embarrassed, as they also seemed to be, how to make ourselves mutually understood : for, on coming up, they held out six fingers, pointing to the way we should take ; and loudly exclaiming *Hollanda, Hollanda*, made signs for us to follow them. We felt at a loss how to proceed :—Some of our number supposed these three Hottentots spies, and that they were the precursors of those we had formerly seen, and by whom we should now be massacred : others interpreted their signs as indicating that we were six days journey from the Cape. After due deliberation, we resolved to follow them wherever they went ; because nothing worse than what we had already suffered could ensue, and it was only meeting death at last, which would terminate our miseries.

It was not long before our first suspicions, of the Hottentots being spies, were dispellèd : we speedily ascertained that their simplicity by no means equalled that of those whom we had previously encountered, and that they truly had intercourse with Europeans.

They had brought the quarter of a sheep along with them, which hunger compelled us to demand. They signified that for money we should have it ; but, on our showing that we had none, they made us comprehend that they would take our buttons, which were of gold and silver. I presented them

with six gold buttons, and received the flesh in return. I quickly broiled it, and shared it among our company.

The Hottentots now urged us strongly to keep up with them at a round pace: they advanced before, and then returned to hasten us on. We quitted the pond about mid-day, and halted at the bottom of an eminence: the Hottentots, less fatigued and enfeebled, ascended and called to us to gain the summit and there pass the night. But the way had been very unequal, and we were quite overcome with lassitude; and, in the morning, seven out of fifteen, composing our number, were so ill as to be incapable of proceeding.

Holding a council on this deplorable circumstance, we resolved to leave the weakest behind, with part of the dried mussels, which still lasted; assuring them, that, immediately on finding the Dutch, we should send conveyances to bring them away. However painful, acquiescence was here indispensable, since they were unable to move a step. Indeed we were all extremely indisposed: there was not one whose whole body was not monstrously swoln, particularly his feet and legs. But the unfortunate Siamese left behind were absolutely frightful to behold, they were so hideous and disfigured. It was severe affliction to us forsaking our comrades thus, in the uncertainty of ever seeing them again; yet of what comfort could it have been for us to remain and die with them. Bidding them a melancholy farewell, we set out with our guides, who had awakened us early in the morning.

The Hottentots having kindled a fire, as the night was very chill, took the burnt charcoal, and putting it in a hole scraped on purpose, pour-

ed water on it. The mixture being bruised and reduced to a liquid state, they continued a long time rubbing it over their faces and all their bodies, and then presented themselves before us in this abominable condition.

They testified much impatience at the slowness of our progress, though the evil was beyond remedy ; and at length, growing weary of delay, after conversing together, two of them left us with great expedition. As to the third, he always remained behind, and stopped as often and as long as we chose.

We followed our guide six complete days, with pain and suffering, apparently exceeding what we had previously endured. We were incessantly ascending and descending places, terrific even to look at. Our guide, though accustomed his whole life to climb the most rugged precipices, could himself hardly surmount those before us.

Some of our number seeing him prepare to ascend a mountain which they believed inaccessible, persuaded themselves that it was only to betray us, and proposed putting him to death. The second ambassador severely reprehended their design, saying, the poor savage did all he could ; and asking why such signal services, voluntarily performed, should be requited with the perpetration of a crime so horrible ?

As those difficulties which discourage people naturally timid vanish on nearer inspection, the places which, from a distance, we thought so dangerous, appeared less formidable on our approach ; and always as we ascended, the acclivity seemed to become more gentle. In spite of hunger, thirst, and lassitude, it was overcome.

We now lived entirely on dried mussels, using them as moderately as possible: afterwards we fortunately got the leaves of certain small green trees, which had a pleasant acidity, and served as a great feast when mixed up with the mussels. A kind of green frog also seemed good to eat. As the way we now traversed abounded in plants whereon they feed, we did not fail to avail ourselves of their number, as well as of locusts, which however were not so savoury. I must acknowledge, that the insects we relished most were large black beetles, common in elephants' dung: broiled on the fire, we found them excellent. Perhaps these hints may prove useful to those in similar extremities.

At length, on the thirty-first day after our unhappy shipwreck, and the sixth after meeting the Hottentots, we saw four men on the summit of a lofty mountain, which we believed to cross. We took them for Hottentots at first sight, because the distance prevented us from distinctly seeing them; and we expected none other. However, as they approached during our descent from an eminence, we were most agreeably undeceived; and soon ascertained that two were Dutchmen, and the others the two Hottentots who had left us. This was a joyous sight; we now believed that the hour of our deliverance was at hand, and that our lives might still be preserved. Our sensations increased as the strangers came nearer. Their first question was, whether we were Siamese, which were the ambassadors, and where the dispatches they carried? These things being explained, the Dutch shewed us great attention, and making signs that we should be seated, they caused the Hottentots produce provisions, which they had brought along with them. When we saw the supplies of

bread, meat, and wine, our acknowledgements were boundless: some threw themselves at the feet of the Dutch, and, embracing their knees, called them their fathers and deliverers; in short, there was not one who did not exhibit the most extravagant demonstrations of gratitude. For my own part, I was so deeply impressed with it, that I resolved it should be displayed on the spot. When the first ambassador ordered us to leave him, he gave us some jewels, which had been entrusted by the king, our master, to him, for the purpose of being bestowed in presents. I received five large diamonds, set in rings of gold; one of which I presented to each of the Dutchmen, as an acknowledgment for the renewal of my life.

I cannot tell whether my account may be credited, nor should I venture to relate it, were I not enjoined to describe all the circumstances of this distressing journey; but after the Dutch had supplied us with food and wine, we all felt ourselves overpowered with weakness, in such a manner, that we were incapable of advancing another step; not one of us could rise without exertion and intolerable pain; and although the Dutch told us that we should reach their dwellings in an hour, we had neither strength nor resolution to proceed. Reflecting on this unaccountable incident, so adverse to what might naturally have been expected, I can ascribe it only to some operation of the mind. I shall leave the real solution of the difficulty to those more skilled than I.

Whilst under the apprehension of destruction, we still made extraordinary efforts to advance; during our journey we thought of nothing but deliverance from distress daily accumulating. The deplorable fate of our forsaken companions, and

the occasional death of those who endeavoured to escape, inspired us with terror, and excited us to action. Besides, we were supported by hope; for, at the outset each morning, we trusted in the evening to reach our journey's end. Occupied with these various reflections, we surmounted every difficulty, and forgot the excruciating pains that tortured us. But now delivered from the dread of death, we had nothing to expect, and fell into apathy.

The Dutch, sensible that we could not proceed, in compliance with our entreaties, sent the *Hot-tentots* for carts to carry us. In less than two hours they returned with two carts and several horses; of the latter none could make use, whence we all mounted the carts, which conveyed us to the Dutch habitations, near a league from the foot of the mountain. This was truly a haven of safety; with indescribable pleasure we lay through the night on straw; and our joy cannot be figured when, at waking, we found the terrific dangers, that had thirty-one days assailed us, now at an end.

Our first care, on arriving, was to request the master of the house to send a cart with provisions for the relief of the seven Siamese, whom we had lately left behind. After seeing it depart, we were carried in other two to a Dutch settlement, four or five leagues from the first, where the East India Company breed an infinite number of oxen and sheep, as also many horses.

Some time afterwards, we learnt that the governor had sent a company of soldiers to escort us, and two horses for the two ambassadors; both were too ill, however, to mount. Thus we still kept to the carts, and in this condition reached the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

The governor being apprised of our arrival, sent his secretary to receive and compliment the ambassadors on his part. We were conducted through a file of military to the fort, and led to the house of the governor, who received the ambassadors, mandarins, and their suite, with unusual marks of respect and affection. He introduced us to a saloon, where we were served with tea and wine; and, in the mean time, eleven guns were fired as a salute, to honour our king in presence of his ambassadors.

We earnestly requested the governor to send immediate aid to the first ambassador, whom we had left near the place of our shipwreck, for we still hoped that he survived. He replied that, during the present rainy season, it was impossible to travel; but at the first commencement of the good weather, all possible care should be taken to seek the ambassador, and send him necessary conveniences for his return. He told us that it was fortunate we had followed the coast; for, had we penetrated the interior, we should infallibly have been massacred by the Caffres of the woods, who were cannibals. The kind treatment we received from the governor, went far to make us forget our misfortunes.

Perceiving vessels in the road as we approached the Cape, the consolatory hope of revisiting our beloved country, and our no less dear relations, was revived; and the words of the governor brightened our prospects. The confidence of doing so, almost totally effaced the remembrance of the distresses we had endured; and we testified the utmost gratitude for his consideration. He truly kept his word; he ordered his secretary to attend us to a lodging; which he had prepared in the

town for our reception ; and ordered us to be plentifully provided with whatever we stood in need of. He kept an exact account indeed of our expences, which was transmitted to the ministers of the king, our master, by whom it was paid on his word only ; and they also reimbursed the pay of the officer and soldiers sent to escort us, and who afterwards mounted guard on our dwelling during our residence here.

The Portuguese, after suffering still greater mis-
haps, arrived at the Cape eight days before us. A
monk of the order of St Augustine, who, by the
king's command, had accompanied the Portugaese
ambassador, gave a narration, which drew tears
from our eyes : " We should have been relentless
as tigers, said he, not to have melted at the cries
and groans of those who dropped by the way, over-
come by the torments of hunger, thirst, and lati-
gue. They implored the assistance of their friends
and relatives ; they conjured them to procure a drop
of water. Every one seemed insensible of their suf-
ferings ; and, to avert the semblance of cruelty, when
we saw them fall, which happened frequently in a
day, we exhorted them to recommend their souls
to God ; and then, without further remark, turned
away, stopping our ears that we might hear the
groans of the dying no longer. In this way we
lost fifty or sixty persons of all ages, ranks, and
conditions, not including those who had perished
previous to the separation. But the most pitiable
case, and one which is probably unparalleled, be-
fell the captain of the vessel. This was a man of
rank, sprung from one of the first families in Por-
tugal : he was rich and honourable, and had long
commanded a ship, where he rendered great ser-
vices to the king his master, and had given many

marks of his valour and fidelity. The captain had carried his only son out to India, whether he might obtain an early acquaintance with his profession, and be soon accustomed to the fatigues and hardships of the sea, or whether he did not wish to commit to another the education of a child whom he loved better than himself. Whatever it was, the youth possessed every amiable quality; he was well-instructed for his years, gentle, docile, and testified an affection for his father, which cannot be sufficiently praised. The captain watched over his safety on the shipwreck, and during the march he caused him to be carried by his slaves. But at length all the slaves being dead, or so weak that they could not drag themselves along, this poor youth, three days after the Portuguese quitted us, was reduced to such a state of disease and feebleness, that, having lain down to rest on a rock, he was unable to rise again. His limbs were stiff and swoln, and he lay stretched at all his length, unable to bend a joint. It was a dagger for his father to behold it; he tried repeatedly to raise him, and, by assisting him to advance a few steps, supposed that the numbness might be removed; but his limbs refused to serve him, he was only dragged along; and those whose aid his father implored, seeing they could do no more, frankly declared, if they carried him they must themselves perish.

“The unfortunate captain was driven to despair. Lifting his son on his shoulders, he tried to carry him; he could make but a single step, when he fell to the ground with his son, who seemed more distressed with his father's grief than with his own sufferings. He besought him to leave him to die, saying, that the sight of his father's tears and af-

fiction were infinitely more severe than the pain he endured. These words, far from inducing the captain to depart, melted him more and more, until he at last resolved to die with his son. The youth, astonished at his father's determination, and satisfied that his persuasions were unavailing, entreated the Portuguese, in the most impressive manner, to carry away his father, whose presence had no other effect than augmenting his evils, and hastening his death.

“ Two priests in the company endeavoured to represent to the captain the sinfulness of persisting in his resolution, that, if he did not try to save his own life, his salvation would be endangered. The Portuguese finally carried him away by force, after having removed his son a little apart. But this was such a cruel separation, that the captain never recovered it. The violence of his grief was unabating; and he actually died of sorrow one or two days after reaching the Cape.”

Here we remained nearly four months, two of which were required for our convalescence, in expectation of some Dutch vessel to carry us to Batavia; nay, it is my opinion, that, without surgical aid, not one of us would have ever recovered. At first it was necessary to fast, to avert the consequences of overloading our stomachs: I say that, notwithstanding the pain it gave us, we were obliged to fast, and it was more distressing to refrain from food amidst abundance, than to endure hunger during scarcity. Before leaving the Cape, we learnt that the second pilot of the Portuguese vessel had escaped into an English ship, and the first pilot intended to follow him; but the strict watch of the master and crew, who were securing him to be carried to Portugal, there to suffer for

his negligence, disappointed his intentions. Most of Portuguese embarked in Dutch vessels for Amsterdam, whence they expected to regain their own country. Others, along with ourselves, embarked in an East Indiaman which arrived late in the season, and carried us to Batavia.

Having passed six months at Batavia, we sailed in June for Siam, where we arrived the September following. We were received with singular marks of favour and regard by the king, our master, who not only ordered us to be provided with money and clothes, but shewed that he would not omit future opportunities of advancing our fortune.

Only six months had elapsed after my arrival at Siam, when the envoys-extraordinary of the king of France arrived. The prime-minister ordered me to compliment them in name of the king my master, and thank him for the honour of his dispatches. *I was selected for this from my knowledge of the Portuguese language acquired during my voyage, and, for the same reason, Father Tachard demanded me on a mission from his majesty. Though hardly recovered of my distresses, the wonderful things related by the mandarins who had come from France, excited an ardent desire in my mind to verify the truth of them."

We may add to the preceding narrative, that Father Tachard, after a successful voyage, arrived in France in July 1688, accompanied by Occum Channam and other two mandarins, forming the Siamese mission to Europe. The mandarins afterwards repaired to Rome, where they were received with singular demonstrations of consideration by the pope, who, from the moment of entering his territory, ordered all their expence to be borne

from his treasury. They were magnificently lodged and entertained; and in their public audiences his holiness, from their being idolaters, and entertaining some scruples concerning the mode of approaching his person, dispensed with the usual ceremonial attending it. The dispatches of the king of Siam were inscribed on a tablet of gold, and presented to the pope by the Siamese, attired in the state costume of their own country, in an urn of the same metal.

The Siamese were deeply impressed, both by the magnificence and the courtesy of the pope. A splendid festival, performed with great pomp and solemnity, inspired them with a high respect for the Christian religion. In January 1689, they had an audience of leave, and, in a few days, departed, bearing presents from his holiness to the king of Siam and his ministers, and expressing the utmost satisfaction at the liberal and honourable reception they had experienced from a Christian potentate.

The king of Siam, mentioned in the preceding narrative, died in 1689, and the prime minister seated himself on the throne. In later times the country has been exposed to wars, and the irruption of neighbouring nations, and, in 1765, the subjects of Ava made a successful campaign against it. The capital was taken; but a few years afterwards, the people rose upon their conquerors, and expelled them, and a Birman army marched to their confines was obliged to retreat.* The enemy, however, still kept possession of the sea-coast, though unable to regain the interior; and, in prosecution of their conquests, attempted, in 1785, to wrest the island of Junkseylon from the Siamese. Though they succeeded, their success was of short

duration, for the governor of the island rallied his forces, and forced them to withdraw, under a heavy loss. Various fortune prevailed in favour of each of the contending parties, until the year 1793, when a negotiation for peace was opened by the Siamese, which, after mutual concessions, was ratified.

The Siamese are a highly cultivated people, and have made very considerable progress in the arts. The king is so much venerated, that subjects only of the highest rank dare venture to pronounce his name, whence Father Tachard remarks, with great surprise, the silence so pertinaciously preserved on the subject of his inquiries concerning the welfare of the king; but none were of sufficient rank to entitle them to answer the question.

By the laws of Siam, the royal blood is too sacred to be shed; members of the royal family, therefore, are beaten to death by clubs made of a precious wood. Similar customs are found among the neighbouring nations; and there is an instance which happened some years ago, where an innocent victim suffered. One of the Birman princes married the daughter of a nobleman, endowed with every attraction that seemed to promise felicity. Accordingly, to all appearance, the most perfect love and harmony subsisted between them. But the prince, actuated by some sudden and unaccountable fit of jealousy, accused his princess of infidelity, and, transported by passion, condemned her, without vindication, to immediate death. Wretches were ready to execute the sanguinary sentence. The trembling victim was dragged from the palace, and inclosed in scarlet sack richly ornamented. She was then carried on board a vessel, and sunk in a river between two jars, which,

gradually filling, went down. This horrible cruelty was perpetrated in broad-day, before thousands of spectators, and in presence of many relations and friends of the princess. But the author of it afterwards justly fell by the sword of her father.

In that country also it is expressly forbidden to spill the blood of the roval family.

SHIPWRECK OF M. DE SERRES,

NEAR THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE, 1687.

HAPPILY for these kingdoms, such events as gave birth to the following narrative, are now unknown. But it was not always so; the day has been when the flame of religious persecution blazed forth with irresistible fury, and many inoffensive individuals became the victims of it. Let us rejoice that the progress of our understanding has gained so great a degree of excellence, that no man's opinions shall be condemned where he does not injure the community.

During the persecution of the Protestants in France, in the year 1685, M. de Serres, a gentleman of fortune, became the object of observation. When known at Montpellier that the king's troops had arrived at Montauban, and were exercising many cruelties to force the Protestants to change their religion, M. de Serres was advised to withdraw from the kingdom. He then had in his hands, besides his own private property, the king's revenues of three communities, which he levied in his province; and, though he would have left much more behind than he could carry away, conscience restrained him from departing until he

should render an account of what belonged to the public.

At length, the whole province being overrun with the military, he judged it prudent to send away his children, and himself to withdraw to a place of safety. On the report of the troops arriving, those at a great distance from them were alarmed to such a degree, that they submitted and became Catholics, though formerly professing the Protestant religion. M. de Serres was, in his concealment, strongly urged by his relations to do the like, as the only means of preserving his estate; however, he strenuously resisted their persuasions, and, finding his situation dangerous, removed. Not knowing where to go, he wandered about until the end of November 1685, when, being betrayed by one whom he thought his friend, he was taken and confined in the citadel of Montpellier.

There he found M. de la Baume, a gentleman of Vigan, M. le Blanc, minister of Maruegeots, and many others, in irons, imprisoned for the same cause. They remained together undisturbed for about six weeks, when new endeavours were made for their conversion.

M. de Serres was afterwards shut up during a month, in a darker cell, where there was only one window to admit the light, and it was closed as soon as he entered, leaving the place in total obscurity. M. de Fouquet de Boizebars, a gentleman of Vigan, was in it on his arrival. But, in the end of March 1686, an order came to remove all the prisoners from the citadel of Montpellier to Aiguemortes, a town of Lower Languedoc, where they were sent linked, two and two, with iron manacles, like felons. M. de Serres, however, was left alone, and removed into another cell, and

soon afterwards enlarged to the extent of the whole citadel, provided he was always kept in sight. At length he was carried to Aiguemortes, and put in a room of the Queen's Tower.

This was so filthy a place, and he was so tormented by musquitoes and other insects, that for three days and nights he could neither eat nor drink ; and the hardships which he endured for six weeks in the prison, brought on a violent distemper in August following. His mother and his son were then permitted to see him, on condition that they would persuade him to abjure his religion, and the priests who were present enjoined him to comply ; but, irritated by his remarks, they occasioned his being thrown into a dungeon, where all the violence of his disease returned. He laboured under a severe ague for a fortnight, when he was transferred from the dungeon into another prison, where he found three gentlemen, who were discharged next day. By them he sent a letter to his mother, expressing the great necessities of the prisoners ; on receiving which, one of his aunts contrived to get provisions conveyed within the walls of the prison. However, it was discovered in two days ; she was expelled from the town, and warned to beware of the like.

Meantime, three prisoners, urged by their sufferings, one night broke open the doors and slid over the wall by the help of their sheets. Unfortunately, one having mistaken the measure, fell down and broke his leg ; when another of them lifted him on his shoulders, and carried him three miles in the night. But day beginning to break, the wounded man, unwilling to expose his comrades to danger, desired to be left behind ; and at last yielding to his entreaties, they laid him down

in a ditch, and parted to the great regret of both. In a short time, however, they found an ass, with which they returned; and, setting their helpless friend upon it, carried him away in safety through a body of guards, who, ignorant of their identity, allowed them to pass unmolested. One of the three, however, was afterwards retaken, and hanged at Ledignan.

M. de Serres was next transferred to the Tower of Constance, where he met several persecuted Protestants. The prison here was extremely cold, yet neither fire nor candle was allowed, whence two of them fell sick; but the Marquis de Verdes, governor of Montpellier, compassionating their situation, not only supplied them with both, but even offered the attendance of his own physician and surgeon, and permitted them to purchase what they wanted.

As the air of Aiguemortes was insalubrious, and that of the prisons infected, most of M. de Serres's companions fell sick, and some of them died. Three bodies were left unburied, which were carried naked on a cart through the town, and then thrown to the dogs in the field. A blind young man of Clermont de Lodeve, was drawn on a hurdle, after his death, lest some charitable person might bury him; and many other bodies were guarded by detachments of soldiers, until devoured by the dogs.

Orders arrived from the French coast, in the beginning of January 1688, to send part of the prisoners from Aiguemortes to Marseilles. M. de Serres had previously undergone six months solitary confinement in a dungeon. A capuchin, who had before visited him, along with his mother, now informed him, that he was condemned to pass the

remainder of his life in America, where he should suffer more than ever ; but if he would obey the king, that a pardon should be procured. M. de Serres thereupon declared his determination to die in his own religion.

Intelligence of banishment to America occasioned much distress in the prison ; M. de Serres, who had already made several voyages, foresaw the calamities it would produce. Only three out of twenty prisoners at Aiguemortes, Mess. de Fouquet, De Paris, and Ducros, were detained, in hopes of making them change their religion. The clothes of the others were stripped off on their leaving the prison, and given to the jailor for his fees ; then being fastened together two and two with cords, they were put into a boat to be carried to Marseilles ; and seventy-nine women were treated in the same manner.

Arriving there the following night, the whole were immediately put on board a ship called the *Royal Pink*, where they were more humanely treated than either in the prisons or in the boats.

Three weeks after their arrival, eighty-one prisoners of both sexes were brought on board the same ship. The three gentlemen formerly detained were of the number ; all these prisoners were sent hither on account of refusing to change their religion, and the vessel was daily visited by monks and jesuits, striving to make proselytes.

Several of the prisoners fell sick, and were sent ashore to the hospital where they died, and were buried in a place appropriated to barbarians, called the *Turk's Yard*.

On the 8th of March they were transferred to another ship called *Our Lady of Good Hope*, commanded by a captain of Marseilles, where seventy

men were put into one cabin, and thirty women into another. There were also one hundred galley slaves in the vessel. The prisoners had been hurried away from the *Royal Pink*, hardly being allowed time to carry off their clothes. Here they were all searched, and their knives, razors, and scissors taken away.

The cabin was so much crowded that they were forced to lie on each other; and as there was only a small hole for the admission of air, the number of sick daily increased. At first they were locked up, but at length allowed to come out two and two, to receive some benefit from the open air in fair weather.

Adverse winds made the ship cast anchor at La Rouquette, on the coast of Spain, where some Dutch ships were then lying. In one of them were two French officers, M. Petit, and M. Bousignes, who were desirous to see the Protestants. Accordingly, on being allowed to see the women, M. Boussignes was greatly shocked to find two of his own relations among them, whom he left with tears in his eyes.

Again, casting anchor at Gibraltar, M. de Serres fell sick and became delirious, and did not recover before reaching Madeira. The other prisoners suffered severe indisposition, which occasioned their irons being taken off, and they were allowed to walk the deck: Nevertheless, contagious diseases prevailed, so that out of one hundred only a single person was in perfect health. The heat was excessive, and the infection so great, that the unfortunate prisoners were almost devoured alive by vermin. Their miseries affected the seamen and passengers, who told them, it would be better to turn Turks, or even devils, rather than suffer

what they did for religion. Nineteen of their number died, of whom was M. de Fouquet, a pious, honest, and charitable gentleman. He died in the captain's cabin.

On Whitsunday, the pilot having calculated the ship's course, informed the captain, that he conceived they were but twenty miles from Martinique, advising him to bring to for the night, lest they might be in danger. The captain, however, calculated their distance to be three hundred miles from land, whence they might sail both night and day without fear.

Two or three hours before day, the pilot found every man asleep on the forecastle, and, on looking out a-head, discovered land. He instantly called to the mariners to let go the sails; but nobody hearing him, the ship struck on a rock, and, beating violently, tore away the helm. Such noise and disorder ensued, that the seamen could not hear each other speak, nor could they get the sails furled. The women were under lock and key, but happily they were not forgot; the cabin door was opened, though almost too late, for some of them were up to the middle in water.

The galley slaves were prevented by their chains from saving themselves, for they were fettered seven and seven together. They cried out lamentably, and their officer, in compassion, came and tried to save them; but the time being short, after setting some at liberty, he left them, either being afraid of their doing him injury, or of losing his own life.

The seamen, in great confusion, hoisted out two boats, and cut away one of the masts, while such prisoners as were able got into the boats. The captain, sensible that all the rest were alarmed for

their lives, repeatedly told them to be of good courage, and that none of those abiding by the ship would perish. Then, however, he seemed to have no hopes of saving himself by remaining; for he went into his cabin, and, there stripping himself stark naked, leapt into the sea to swim to a boat which waited for him.

The sea running very high, beat the fore part of the ship in a thousand pieces; and the prisoners retreating to the stern, which still kept together, and despairing of succour, began to prepare for death, when the wreck suddenly sunk, and was almost covered. M. de Serres was reduced to a great degree of weakness by sickness and medicines, and he now would infallibly have perished, had not some of the prisoners assisted him to get upon the main-mast, which was floating in the water. The chaplain of the ship was there also, and both expected immediate destruction. At length, M. de Serres was washed off by the waves, but he fortunately gained first one piece of timber and then another. The survivors were still in hopes, that the captain, as he had promised, would send a boat to their assistance; but, finding it vain to expect any aid from that quarter, each contrived to cling to a plank, and trusted to the wind washing it ashore. Some were happily preserved in this manner, and others saved by the savages who beheld the wreck, and came to their relief in a canoe. But it blew fresh, and only very few could be carried at a time. Three, along with M. de Serres, remained two days and a night by the wreck. Being fully six miles from land, he and the others embarked on a large plank, which repeatedly overset, while the waves washed over their heads. Two, however,

stronger than the rest, always recovered it. After much labour, they at last came in sight of the harbour, when the wind suddenly fell, and they could not make the shore. M. de Serres, despairing of relief, tried to lie down and die in peace; he looked for death every instant, when his companions perceived, by the light of the moon, a boat approaching towards them. Two negroes were in it, one of whom could speak French, and offered to carry them ashore for a crown; the reward was quickly promised, and they were landed in safety.

At the house of this man, M. de Serres found several who were preserved from the wreck, but they could get neither bread nor water; and the violence of his fever returned, owing to his having been fifteen or sixteen hours in the sea. But he got his clothes dried by the assistance of the negro's wife, and passed the night on a chair.

Next morning, on counting the survivors, it appeared that fifteen prisoners were drowned; few of the women escaped. When they saw the water rushing from all sides into their cabin, they devoutly resigned themselves to their fate.

Neither bread nor water was in the negro's house, therefore M. de Serres, who was the only one of the company who had money, besought the strongest of his companions to carry him where they could obtain provisions. Two of the galley slaves, and the mate, removed him to a canoe, and, crossing an arm of the sea, reached Martinique. There they got what was required, at the dwelling of another negro.

M. de Serres, however, was not destined to escape thus: M. le Begue threatened to hang him if he did not turn Papist; he received one hundred stripes, and was thrown into a dungeon. The

entrance to it was lower than the height of a man, and its position being adjacent to a great fireplace, the heat rendered it a perfect oven. Though M. de Serres stripped himself, even of his shirt, his body was covered with a profuse perspiration, as if he had been drenched with pails of water. Nor was this the only hardship; for he and other two prisoners confined there, were forced to live amidst filth and nastiness. Their resolution then failed in persisting to deny the Catholic faith, and they signed a writing, by which they abjured their own religion.

This obtained their enlargement from the dungeon, but both M. de Serres and his companions were put on board a vessel bound for St Domingo, where, although the captain was ordered to give them food which a dog would hardly have ate, he fed them with the same provisions as were given to the seamen. The ship had to take in sugar at St Christopher's; and, in the interval, the prisoners were confined a month in prison on shore. The governor excused himself, pleading the strictness of his orders; and, to shew that he really pitied them, he sent his surgeon to attend M. de Serres during a fit of sickness, and gave presents to them all.

At St Domingo, where they were afterwards conducted, they received very good treatment from the king's lieutenant, and were allowed to go at large; but the governor, obtaining information that they were dangerous people, and that it would be prudent to separate them, M. de Serres and another, M. Pelat, were removed to a place called Diogena, fifty leagues from Porte Croix. M. de Serres there began to entertain hopes of escaping, as he learned that the English sometimes vi-

sited the extremity of the island. Though extremely indisposed, he performed the whole journey thither on foot, notwithstanding it may be accomplished by sea; but twenty-four Spaniards having, in August 1687, made a descent on a place called *Petite Goave*, and plundered the fort, it was retaken by the French, who hanged the whole. Their countrymen, therefore, desirous to revenge their death, were constantly coasting about, whence it was necessary, to prevent any one from falling into their hands, that the French should prohibit those who had boats and other vessels, from hiring them out.

M. de Serres, not being able to persuade M. Pelat to undertake the journey, travelled himself to Leaugane; but he afterwards went on during his illness, and M. de Serres followed him in a few days, accompanied by three guides well armed, who were a necessary protection against the Maroons. These are negro slaves, who, after forsaking their masters, spare none whom they can overpower. M. de Serres suffered many inconveniences by the way; however, he reached the end of his journey, and impatiently waited for the arrival of some English vessel.

One commanded by a Dutch captain, arrived in three weeks, who promised his assistance to M. de Serres. He said he could not return to Jamaica, but would willingly carry him to Curaçao; an offer which he gladly accepted. In three weeks more he made Curaçao, where he heard that some of his fellow prisoners had fled from Martinique. Here labouring again under indisposition, he was charitably succoured by several persons, particularly an Englishman, who took him into his house, and treated him with uncommon kindness.

But, though this was a pleasant place, he was impatient to return nearer to his family, apprehensive that they might be injured by the resentment of his enemies.

Luckily, a Dutch ship was soon to sail for Holland; and the captain, who agreed to take him on board, said the voyage would last six months, as he had to load at the islands of St Eustace and St Thomas. Accordingly, he sailed in the *Golden Lion*, and quite recovered his health in the course of the voyage. At St Eustace, he heard that five ships had arrived at Martinique from France, with about an hundred prisoners in each; but they were used with less severity than the former party. Still there were parents and children, and husbands and wives, separated and dispersed among the islands subject to the dominion of the French. Several prisoners had died during the voyage, and those who survived could hardly obtain wherewithal to live, being ignorant of agriculture, which is the only source of subsistence in these regions.

One of the fellow prisoners of M. de Serres, who afterwards escaped, was cruelly treated. First, a body of troops was quartered upon him, which consumed the provisions he had collected; and, on his inability to produce what they demanded, some of the common soldiers carried him to a well, in which they threatened to drown him if he would not change his religion. He answered, that, as he was in their power, they might deal with him as they pleased, but he was resolved to stand firm in his faith; whereupon they tied a rope about his middle, and, letting him down into the well, ducked him until he was almost drowned. Then, having conducted him to his own

house, they tied a rope below his arms, and suspended him from a window, where he was exposed to the derision and scorn of the passengers. Not satisfied with this, they inflicted other cruelties, under which he almost expired.

M. de Serres sailed from St Eustace on the 17th of April 1688, and arrived at Amsterdam on the 7th of June following, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his life in peace. He had been twenty months in prison, and escaped many dangers, whence he entertained a grateful sense of the goodness of Providence, in at last aiding his deliverance.

EXPLOSION OF A FRENCH VESSEL,

COMMANDED BY THE SIEUR DE MONTAUBAN, ON THE
COAST OF GUINEA, 1695.

THE following narrative is given by Captain Montauban, who had previously made several voyages with privateers, in the course of which, it is to be apprehended, there was little distinction made of the nations from which he plundered. Towards the end of the seventeenth, and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the custom of adventuring in privateers had grown to such an extent, that bands of desperadoes engaged in buccaneering and piracy, and destroyed every thing that came in their way. It was a matter of considerable difficulty to suppress them; but at last they were, to the great comfort and security of pacific nations, entirely rooted out.

“ Since I have so often felt the malignant influence of the stars presiding over the seas, and by adverse fortune lost all the wealth which, with so much trouble and care, I had amassed together, it should be no source of pleasure recalling to my memory the disasters that befell me previous to the close of the last expedition. But the desire of serving both the public and individuals, and of showing the king my attachment to his service, induced me to

communicate my observations to M. de Philipeaux. There he might likewise discover with what eagerness I penetrated to the most remote colonies of our enemies, in order to destroy them and ruin their trade.

I am unwilling to swell this relation, with all the voyages I have made, and my adventures on various coasts of America, during twenty years. To these I could add my expedition in 1691, when I ravaged the coast of Guinea, went up the river Sierra Leone, and took a fort from the English, mounting twenty-four pieces of cannon, which I burst, to render them unserviceable. But I shall here confine myself to the particulars immediately preceding and subsequent to the explosion of my vessel.

In the year 1694, after having ravaged the coast of Caragua, I stood to windward towards St Croix, where I had information of an English fleet of merchantmen, homeward bound, with a convoy. In the latitude of the Bermuda Islands they appeared, bearing directly toward me, without any apprehensions of danger; whereupon I speedily attacked their convoy called the Wolf, and took her, as also two merchantmen; but the rest made their escape during the engagement. While carrying my prizes to France, I fell in with an English ship of sixteen guns, bound from Spain for England, which, after a short encounter, struck her colours. She was sold at Rochelle, and I then carried my three other prizes to Bordeaux, in September 1694, and presently sought out purchasers for them.

Meantime, my crew, who had been long absent from France, indulged themselves in every extravagance, as some compensation for the fatigues they had undergone. Both the merchants and

their hosts advanced them money, without hesitation, on the reputation of their wealth, and their share of such valuable prizes. They spent the night in such amusements as best pleased their fancy, and the whole day in traversing the town in masquerade. They caused themselves be carried in chairs with lighted torches at noon-day; and the consequence of their indiscretion and debauchery was the death of several of their number.

Having replaced my crew with young men, whom I trained to arms with constant care and practice, and revictualled my ship, which carried thirty-four guns, I left Bordeaux, in February 1695, intending to make a voyage to the coast of Guinea. We cruised about the Azores and the Canary Islands in quest of Dutch vessels, but without success, and then bore away for the Cape de Verd Islands, where two English ships were seen at anchor in the road of the Isle of May. I sent out my boat to reconnoitre what they were, and received information of their carrying about thirty guns each. I therefore resolved to board them, and for that purpose stood nearer in; but they, suspecting my design, did not think fit to wait for my arrival, but, making all ready, cut their cables, and made their escape. I pursued them all day, and, having lost sight of them on the approach of night, returned to the road from which they departed, to take up their anchors and cables left behind, and to sink their boats also lying there.

We sailed for St Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, to caulk the vessel, and likewise to take in wood and water. Here I learnt that there were two English vessels carrying between twenty and thirty guns each, at the Isle of Fuego. I

sailed in quest of them, but they were gone. Then I steered for the coast of Guinea, and, at Cape Three Points, met a Dutch frigate of thirty-two guns, cruising at sea. She directly stood towards me to know what I was, and as I also had discovered her, and was in hopes of coming to a close engagement, I hoisted Dutch colours to avoid creating any alarm. When she came within gun-shot, I hoisted French colours, and made a signal for her to strike; instead of doing so, she boldly gave me a broadside, and at the same time received one from my ship. The engagement, thus commenced, continued from morning until four in the afternoon, without our being able to get the weather-gage, or advance near enough to use musketry, which is the chief kind of arms in similar vessels. Neither could I prevent her from availing herself of the wind, to anchor under the fort of Cape Three Points, where other two Dutch ships lay, one of fourteen, the other of twenty-eight guns. Expecting that all three would come out to fight me, I lay off and on nearly a whole day, and even anchored within a league, in hopes that they might come to take their revenge. This, however, they declined; and a small Portuguese ship soon after told me, that they had forced another Frenchman to leave the coast.

Satisfied, therefore, that the enemy would not fight, and not deeming it advisable to attack them under the cannon of the forts, I determined to go to Cape Lopez, and to Prince, and St Thomas Isles.

On the passage thither, I captured an English twenty-gun-ship, with three hundred and fifty negroes on board, and ivory and wax. The captain said he had come from Ardra, one of the chief towns

of Guinea, which stands on the sea-side, and is the residence of a prince who has extensive dominions. There he had taken in five hundred and fifty negroes; but some had been killed because others mutinied against him, and made their escape to land in his boat.

In sight of Prince's Isle I took a small Brandenburg vessel, mounting eight guns, and carrying sixty men. She cruised about this latitude, taking all the barks she could fall in with, and without distinction of nation or colours. I afterwards went into port to clean my ship, which greatly required it, and to free myself of the English prize. Here I sent her to be condemned at St Domingo in the West Indies; but I understood that she was retaken by some English men-of-war before Little Goava.

Meantime, that my men might not be idle, I ordered my officers to employ them in careening the vessel, while I myself embarked in the Brandenburg ship, with ninety men, and went on a cruise for six weeks on the coast of Guinea. Meeting with no enemy, I returned to Prince's Isle, and got my own vessel victualled, after which I weighed anchor and sailed for the island of St Thomas, there designing either to sell or barter the Brandenburgier. I exchanged her for some provisions, because I had not enough to serve me during a cruise on the coast of Angola, where I meant to spend five or six months to avoid three English men-of-war, fitting out at the same town in Guinea. Their purpose was to come in quest of me about the island of St Thomas, where they thought I was cruising.

Leaving St Thomas, I saw a ship at anchor, and then chased her a long time. But I could not prevent her getting ashore on the Isle of St Omers,

and being staved to pieces; by which I lost an hundred and fifty pounds of gold dust.

We next sailed for the coast of Angola, two hundred and fifty leagues on the other side of the line, and arrived there on the 22d of September. When within three leagues of the port of Cabinda, we understood there were two English ships with negroes in that place; therefore, being to leeward of the port, I bore out to sea, in hopes of recovering it next day, by the south-west wind which usually blows to the land. When day broke, I saw a ship with English colours bearing down upon me, which I did not immediately suppose a man-of-war. Some time after, however, I discovered that she carried no less than fifty-four guns. I used all my art to deceive her; and, with that view, hoisted Dutch colours, that I might approach her the more easily, while she, on her part, was not behind hand in deluding me, and endeavoured to come up with me by firing guns from time to time, to assure me of her friendship.

When I became sensible of the enemy's design, I made a shew of waiting until she came up, and sailed but very slowly, that I might make her believe my ship was heavily laden, or that I was encumbered for want of sails and haps; and in this manner we mutually conducted ourselves from day-break until ten in the forenoon. The English vessel gave me a gun from time to time without ball, to assure me what she was, and, as she herself supposed, my friend. But, finding at last that I did not answer her in the same manner, and now being within cannon-shot, she gave me one with ball, which made me instantly hoist French colours, and return the salutation.

The English captain on this, without farther hesitation, gave me two broadsides, which I received, and did not return a shot, though they killed seven men, because I was in hopes, if it was possible to get nearer, to disable him from leaving me. Thus I endeavoured to get within musket-shot, desirous that he might have an opportunity of shewing his courage by boarding me, as I could not so well do the same by him, being to leeward. At last, having approached by degrees within musket-shot, a volley from my people, purposely concealed on deck, was discharged, and so briskly continued, that the enemy began to flag.

Meantime, the crew of the English ship, consisting of above three hundred men, seeing the effect of their cannon fail, resolved to board us, which they did with a great shout, and threatening to give no quarter if we did not surrender. Their grappling-irons missing our stern, their own ship run on the bowsprit and carried it away. Observing the enemy to be thus hampered, my men plied their small arms so smartly, that, in an hour and a half, after losing a great many people, they were driven below decks; and presently after they made signals, with their hats off, crying out for quarter. I therefore ordered my men to cease firing, and commanded the English to get into their boats and come on board, while I made some of my own men leap into their ship and seize her, in order to prevent a surprise.

I already rejoiced within myself in capturing so considerable a prize, and the more so, as, after having taken her, which was the guard-ship of the coast, and the largest belonging to the English in these seas, I should be in a condition to attack any man-of-war that I should meet, and make prizes

still greater. My crew were no less satisfied than myself, and were executing their work with much alacrity. But the enemy's powder suddenly taking fire, from a match purposely left burning by the captain, who hoped to escape in his two boats, both the vessels blew up with a most dreadful explosion.

To describe the horrible spectacle is impossible; the spectators were themselves the actors in the bloody scene, hardly knowing whether they beheld it or not, and so confounded, as to be unable to judge of what was passing. The reader must figure to himself our horror at two ships blowing up above two hundred fathom into the air, where there was formed, as it were, a mountain of fire, water, and wreck; the awfulness of the explosion below, and the cannon going off in the air; the rending of the masts and planks; the tearing of the sails and cordage, added to the cries of the men. These things, I say, must be left to the imagination of the reader, and I shall only describe what befell myself.

When the ship first took fire I was on the fore-castle giving orders, and then carried so far up on the deck, that it was the height alone, as I conceive, that saved me from being involved in the wreck of the ships, where I must have infallibly perished. I fell back into the sea, and remained a considerable time under water, without being able to gain the surface. At last, struggling like one afraid of being drowned, I got up and seized a piece of a mast, which I found near at hand. I called to some of my men, whom I saw swimming around me, and exhorted them to take courage, as we might yet save ourselves, if we could fall in with any of the boats.

What gave me more distress at this moment than even my own misfortune, was seeing two half bodies, still with some remains of life, rising from time to time to the surface of the water, and then disappear, leaving the place dyed with blood. It was equally deplorable to behold many limbs and fragments of bodies, spitted, for the greater part, on fragments of wood.

At last, one of my men having met with a boat, almost entire, amidst all the wreck, swimming in the water, informed me that we must stop some holes which were in it, and endeavour to take out the yawl lying on board. Fifteen or sixteen of us, each supported by a piece of wood, nearly reached the boat, and attempted to disengage the yawl, which we at length effected. All then went on board, and, after getting there, saved the principal gunner, who had his leg broke in the engagement. Then taking up three or four oars, or pieces of boards for the purpose of oars, we sought out something to make a small mast and a sail; and, having prepared all things as well as we possibly could, committed ourselves to the protection of Divine Providence, who could alone give us life and deliverance.

Whenever I had done working, I found myself entirely besmeared with blood, flowing from a wound which I had received in my fall. Having washed the wound, we made a dressing out of my handkerchief, and a bandage from my shirt to bind it on. The same was done to the others, who had been also wounded; and meanwhile our boat sailed on without making the land, or even knowing whither we were going. What was worse, we had no provisions, and had already spent a considerable time in fasting. One of the men cruelly

tormented with hunger and thirst, died of drinking salt water ; and most of the rest constantly vomited, probably from the quantities of water swallowed by them when in the sea. As for myself, I suffered long, and swelled to a surprising degree ; but I ascribe the recovery of my health to a quartan ague, which siezed me soon after. All my hair, face, and one side of my body were burnt with powder ; and I bled at the mouth, nose, and ears. I know not whether this be the effect of the powder, by swelling up the vessels containing the blood of our bodies to such an extraordinary extent, that the ends of the veins open and let it out ; or whether it be occasioned by the great noise and violent motion in the same organs. But let it happen which way it will, there was no room here for a consultation of physicians, considering that we were dying of hunger ; neither had we time to inquire what became of the English, when we could hardly save ourselves.

With the help of oars, our course was directed up a current, which we knew came from the port of Cabinda ; but the wind being against us, we could not make the port, and were obliged to attempt getting to Cape Corso, twelve leagues from Cape Catherina, where we were unable to land, on account of a bar which renders that part of the coast inaccessible. Hunger made us alter our design, and forced us to vanquish the obstacles opposed by nature ; therefore we, with much difficulty, ran ashore in spite of the bar, trusting to find negroes who would supply us with provisions.

One of our number speedily landed in quest of something to eat, and fortunately discovered some oysters adhering to the branches of trees in a lagoon, of which he returned to give us notice.

Here we spent two days, and I divided my men into three parties, sending them up the country to seek for victuals and houses, with orders to return that same evening to the boat. But we could neither find habitations nor any indications of men dwelling there. We saw nothing but large herds of buffaloes, which fled so fast that we could not possibly get near them; therefore, after spending the day in this manner unsuccessfully, we came back to the boat to eat oysters, and resolved to sail for Cape Corso on the day following. To leeward of the Cape, there is a large port where ships sailing that way put in for wood and water. The negroes inhabiting the country, having notice of the arrival of vessels by the firing of cannon, come down with provisions, to barter for brandy, knives, and hatchets. They are under the necessity of living at a distance from the sea, because all the coast is marshy.

As soon as we reached Cape Corso, we heard a great noise from the negroes, who came thither to sell wood to the ships lying at anchor in the port. I looked for any one among them whom I should recognize, for, having often brought me wood and refreshments in the course of my former voyages, I was in hopes to find some of them who should know me again. But though acquainted with several, it was impossible to persuade them that I was Captain Montauban, so much had my late misfortune disfigured me; and the whole supposed me an impostor. Understanding a little of their language, I told them I was ready to die with famine, and prayed them to give me something to eat, but my requests were vain; whence I solicited them to be conducted to Prince Thomas, who was son to the king of the country, in hopes that he

might recollect the favours I had formerly shown him.

I carried all my people along with me, and first reached the dwellings of negroes, who gave us bananas to eat; and next day arrived at the prince's dwelling. But I was in so poor a condition, that I could not make him recognize me, either by signs, or by speaking in his own language, and also Portuguese, which he understood perfectly well. Formerly going together to battle, he observed a scar on my thigh, from a wound by a musquet-ball; and now he said that he must know whether I were truly Captain Montauban; that if I were not, he would cut off my head. He then asked whether I ever had a scar from a musquet-shot in my thigh, and, on my shewing it to him, he embraced me, expressing his sorrow to see me in this condition. He immediately caused victuals to be distributed among my men, and divided them into several habitations, with strict orders to the negroes, with whom they were quartered, to treat them with the greatest care; and, as for myself, I always lived with him. When I was a little recovered, he promised to conduct me to the king, his father, who lived five or six leagues off, that is, ten or twelve from the seaside. I signified my sense of his consideration, and requested his permission to take my people along with me, and likewise some pieces of clothing, that we might put ourselves in decent attire to appear before so great a prince.

Three days thereafter we departed in a large canoe, and passed by the river of Cape Lopez; for the country is so full of marshes, that the journey cannot be made by land. The king lived in a village consisting of three hundred huts, covered with palin leaves, where he kept his wives and kindred,

and also some other negro families whom he favoured. I was lodged with Prince Thomas, and my men were distributed into other habitations.

We found all the people in great lamentation, because their chief priest had died that day ; and they were to begin the funeral obsequies, which continue seven days for those of such high rank. The deceased was held in universal esteem and veneration, and looked on as a holy man.

As the king is in mourning during the whole funeral ceremony, he sees nobody while it lasts ; and Prince Thomas desired me not to leave my dwelling to visit him, this being the custom of the nation. Nevertheless, I went to inspect the funeral ceremony, where I beheld nothing except a great concourse of people standing round the dead body. Meantime, I was well fed by the orders of the prince, who had gone to visit his father ; and so were my people. I was supplied with bananas, elephant's flesh, and river fish.

At the termination of the eight days, Prince Thomas returned to carry us before his father, whom I found to be a well made negro, of large stature, and about fifty years old. To do me the greater honour, he advanced some steps out of his house to meet me, supported by four or five women, and guarded by several negroes, armed with lances and musquets, which they discharged from time to time. Several drums and trumpets preceded him, and also several standards. His only covering was a piece of white and blue striped cotton stuff, wrapped about part of his body.

The king gave me many demonstrations of his friendship : he stretched out his hand to me, saying, it was the first time he had done so to any man ; and, sitting down at his door, desired me to take the place on one side of him, and his son the

other. He asked several questions concerning the greatness and power of the king, my master, and when I told him that he had alone waged war against the English and Dutch, whom he himself had seen at Cape Lopez, and also with the Germans and Spaniards, who were more potent nations than the English and Dutch, he expressed himself pleased with my account, and proposed to drink the king of France's health. He was immediately served by his wives with palm wine, in a great crystal glass. As soon as he began to drink, the negro men and women lifted up their right arm, and, in silence, held it in that posture until he had done drinking. Then the drums and trumpets flourished, and the musquets, or, I should rather say fuses, were discharged.

On informing Prince Thomas, at his own desire, that the king of France's name was Louis le Grand, he declared his wish, that I should hold a child of his, seven or eight months old, to be baptized, and that I should name him Louis le Grand. He told me, likewise, that on my next voyage to this country, he would send the child by me as a present to the king of France, to whose service he devoted him, being very desirous that he should be brought up according to the custom of the country, and the court of so great a prince. I also engaged, on my part, that I should not fail to remind him of his promise the first time I came to the coast of Guinea; that, on my return to France, I might be able to make the greatest present that could be made to the king, in presenting him with the son of Prince Thomas. "And assure him," said Prince Thomas, "that I am his friend, and that if he has occasion for my services, I shall myself repair to France, with all the lances and mus-

ketry belonging to the king, my father," which was so much as to say, "with the whole force of the kingdom." The king then taking up the discourse, assured me, that he would go thither in person if there was need for it; and the whole negro men and women gave a loud shout, which was followed by a general discharge of fire-arms, and a flourish of drums and trumpets, and a kind of sham-fight. The meaning of all this I could not comprehend, and it excited some alarm, until I saw the king drink the French king's health, with the same ceremonies as at first; his example was imitated by his son, and all the strangers ordered to do the like. He then ordered two cakes of wax to be brought, which he desired me to accept as a token of his friendship, and retired to his house.

We visited several villages in the vicinity, and most of the people, who had never beheld white men, crowded from all quarters to see us, bringing more fruit, and also the flesh of elephants, and buffaloes, than we could destroy; it was a mark of the greatest consideration to supply us with elephants' flesh, as it is used by themselves at their feasts.

Unable to comprehend what occasioned the difference of colour between our faces and their own, they frequently tried whether the white would rub off; and their anxiety in making this experiment was so great, as sometimes to hurt us by it. When Prince Thomas observed their proceedings, he commanded that his attendants should suffer none of the rest to rub and scrape us with their fingers in that manner, and told those who came to see us, that all strangers were as white as we were; and if negroes went into another country, that their colour would there seem as strange as ours did in

Guinea. He was entertained by seeing the people running after us, as if we had been some strange animals, and I know not whether his distress to behold us thus incommoded with their importunities, or his amusement at their folly, predominated.

At last, after three days travelling and diversion, the prince carried me back to take leave of his father. The king caressed me greatly, and made me promise to visit him on my first return to Guinea. We then embarked in canoes, and next day arrived at Prince Thomas's village, where I experienced the same treatment from him as before.

Here he resumed the subject of his son's baptism, and as these people professed Christianity, he sent to Cape Lopez for a Portuguese priest, who came in two days. The prince named him Louis le Grand, as he had before declared his intention of doing. A negro woman, one of his relations, stood godmother, and I stood godfather. This woman was called Antonia, and I was told that she had been so named at her baptism by the wife of a Portuguese captain. The ceremony was performed with all possible magnificence, such as the negroes could display.

Two or three days afterwards, information came of the arrival of an English ship at Cape Lopez; and I requested the prince's permission to go on board, that I might return to my own country; but he was unwilling that I should commit myself to the hands of my enemies, and desired me patiently to await the arrival of some Portuguese vessels, in which I should sail. Meantime, he went to Cape Lopez, there to exchange elephant's teeth,

bees-wax, and negroes, for iron, arms, and brandy, which occupied him ten or twelve days.

On his return he told me that a Portuguese ship had anchored at the Cape, and that his canoe should carry me on board, as he had recommended me to the captain, and said that I should want nothing necessary for my voyage to Europe. I therefore collected all my men, except two, who, five or six days before, had gone up the country, and I knew not where to find them. Having taken leave of the prince, we embarked in his canoes, and sailed for Cape Lopez. On arriving there I found the Portuguese captain, an old friend, with whom I had become acquainted in the island of St Thomas. Three days after I went on board we reached that island, the governor of which showed me and my men much civility during a month that we were obliged to remain in the port. An English ship that had been out on the Gold Coast then came in; and, on becoming acquainted with the captain, he made such offers as I could not refuse. He requested me to go on board of his ship, assuring me that I should find very good Jewish physicians in Barbadoes, who would cure my ailments. Thus I embarked with all my men in the vessel, notwithstanding the governor of the island stated many reasons for being suspicious of the Englishman, who was, nevertheless, as honest a man as any of his country. He was so civil as to give me his own cabin, and entertained me with every thing agreeable and amusing he could devise, to solace my spirits for the afflictions that I had from time to time endured.

Ten days after our departure from St. Thomas, we unfortunately lost our rudder in a storm, and

were obliged to fit a spare topmast instead of it, which proved very detrimental to a voyage, continuing no less than three months. Provisions began to be scarce before our arrival at Barbadoes, so that the allowance was reduced to three-fourths, and they were within three days of being quite exhausted.

On reaching the island, the English captain waited on Colonel Russel, the governor, and related my engagement with the man-of-war at Angola, and the consequences attending it, whereupon he was much blamed for carrying me to Barbadoes. When he returned on board, he told me that the governor had prohibited him from allowing me to go on shore, under pain of death. The latter part, however, I did not at first learn from him, and he contented himself with only desiring me not to go ashore lest it might excite the governor's suspicions. With this I promised punctual compliance, having little desire to see a place which I had known so long ago, and being unwilling to bring the captain into any trouble.

Next day several Jews, who had been expelled from Martinique, having heard of my arrival, came on board, and, finding me very much indisposed, sent some physicians of their tribe to me, who said that I could not be cured without being carried ashore. They offered to solicit the governor's permission for me to live in the town, and I drew up a petition to him to the same purpose, promising not to stir out of my apartment until embarking again for Martinique. The Jewish physicians were themselves obliged to be security for me, and I was then conducted to the house of Mr Jacob Lewis, where I was well attended to all the time of my residence.

Three days after my arrival, Colonel Russel sent a major to see me. He very civilly offered me his protection, and whatever could be conducive to the restoration of my health. Both the major and a captain of the garrison came to visit me from time to time, though, I apprehended, less with the design of learning the state of my health, than to ascertain when I should be in a condition to leave the island. Colonel Russel himself also visited me ten or twelve days after my arrival, to know whether I was as ill as had been reported; and seven or eight days subsequent to that he came again, and caused me to be conveyed from the Jew's house to that of an English merchant, where, he said, I should find better accommodation. But I thought his design was, that I might be more narrowly watched, and prevented from conversing with so many people. He came to see me the day following, when I returned him thanks for the civilities he had shewn me, and, that he might have no occasion to suspect my men, I prayed him to shut them up in the citadel, that they might not run about the island, and also to prevent them from making their escape. He answered, that he would attend to it, but I must understand that they were prisoners of war as well as myself. I said I was aware of it, and thought myself fortunate in having fallen into his hands, adding, however, that the English captain who had brought me to Barbadoes, engaged that neither I, nor any of my men, should be detained; that it was from reliance on his faith so given, and the tenders of service he made, I had embarked. Then I requested the governor to grant me and my men our liberty, promising that I should ever be mindful of the favour, either by restoring such prisoners

as I might take, or by paying him such a ransom as he required.

"No," replied the governor, "I will neither have your ransom nor your prisoners; you are too brave a man for me not to compassionate your numerous misfortunes; and I desire that you will accept of these forty pistoles to supply your present necessities." He then presented me with a purse, which he had doubtless brought on purpose, and, on leaving me, said he was about to give orders to collect my men together.

After being somewhat recovered, I intimated to the governor, by the officer who daily came to visit me, that I was desirous of embarking in the first vessel bound for Martinique. In three days a bark arrived, which the Count de Blenac, governor of the French islands, had sent here respecting an exchange of prisoners; Colonel Russel gave me intimation of it, saying, I might prepare to depart. I was thereupon permitted to go to his house and thank him in person for all the civilities he had shewn me. He told me, that he regretted the laws of warfare restrained him from allowing me greater liberty than he had done, and prayed me to use the English kindly who might fall into my hands. I embarked in the French vessel, but I could find no more than two of the crew whom the governor had formerly sent to me, and they declared that they knew nothing of what was come of the rest.

Arriving at Martinique, I related my adventures et M. de Blenac, who insisted on my living with him during the whole period of my residence there; and he frequently made me give him an account of my engagement with the English man-of-war. At last, finding an opportunity of pro-

curing a passage for me to France, he sent for the captain of a vessel bound thither, and recommended me to him. He would likewise have written letters to France in my favour, but he was taken so very ill, that he could not write, and died on the 10th of June. I regretted his death very much for many reasons. He was a man who delighted to serve every one, and felt for the misfortunes of those persecuted by fate, as I had been; who offered a favour before it was asked, who was endowed with courage, and skilful in maritime affairs, and in high esteem with the king for his integrity, wisdom, justice, as also the service he had rendered to his country.

The day after the death of M. Blenac, I embarked in the *Virgin*, a vessel belonging to Bourdeaux, and had a quick passage thither. I arrived impressed with many and contradictory sentiments.

I know not whether I have bid adieu to the sea, or whether I shall go out again to be revenged on the English, who have done me so much mischief; whether I shall traverse the ocean in quest of a little wealth; or rest in quiet, and consume what my relations have left me. Men have a strange propensity to undertake voyages, just as they have to gaming. Whatever adversity befalls them they trust that at length prosperity will come, and therefore they continue to play on; so it is with us at sea, for whatever accident we meet with, we hope for some opportunity to indemnify our losses."

WRECK OF TWO ENGLISH VESSELS

ON THE ISLAND OF MAYOTTA.

FATHER TACHARD, the same intelligent missionary who relates the shipwreck of *Occum Chamnam*, the Siamese mandarin, after sojourning many years among the Asiatic nations, returned to France; but being appointed superior of the French Jesuit missionaries, he again visited the east, for the last time, in the year 1701, and in his account of the voyage thither, he proceeds in the following words :

“ Nothing important occurred between Cape de Verd and the Isle of Anjouan, which lies to the north of the great island of Madagascar. As the months of August and September are usually stormy on the coasts of Hindostan, it is dangerous to arrive in India before the 10th of October. Thus we were obliged to remain a considerable time at Anjouan, where we took the opportunity of ascertaining the real latitude of the island, and found, by repeated observations, that the centre of it lay in twelve degrees south. This was the more necessary to be understood, as, in addition to an English vessel which had lately been wrecked in the vicinity, a sixty-gun French ship of war was about seven years ago in imminent danger of being carried ashore by the currents. These accidents happened from the pilots, owing to in-

accurate charts, mistaking the island of Mayotta for Maoli, which lies about ten leagues farther north than it.

Sailing from Anjouan, the currents forced us to the westward of Angasia, the largest of the Comorra Islands, and carried us towards Mayotta. But this was a providential incident, as it enabled us to rescue two unfortunate Englishmen who had remained two years here, destitute of every thing, and exposed to the insults and cruelty of a barbarous people. Having sent our long-boat ashore, we lay to three hours waiting her return. As she approached, we were surprised to see two haggard, emaciated, naked men among the crew, one about thirty years of age, and the other apparently under twenty. We learnt on inquiry, that both had been shipwrecked on the island of Mayotta, from the pilots mistaking it for the island of Maoli. The former was cast away, about three years preceding, in a large English East-Indiaman: the latter came from Boston in America, where he had embarked with some English buccaneers.

The passengers and crew who escaped were treated with great deference by the inhabitants, so long as their numbers rendered them formidable. But at length being reduced to fifteen or sixteen, by disease brought on by the unhealthiness of the climate, excess, or in some by sorrow, the savages no longer feared them, but, on the contrary, soon sought pretexts to deprive them of their property, and put their lives in danger.

Among these unfortunate persons were seven Frenchmen and three Germans, the remainder being English or Dutch. As their number daily diminished, and they saw death and misery staring them in the face, they resolved to run every ha-

zard in attempting to leave the island; because they could never expect that any European ship would come there, for the road was inaccessible to those even of moderate burden. With this design, they constructed, out of the wreck of their vessels, a shallop large enough to carry them away, along with considerable sums of money, which they still preserved. Already they had named the day of their departure, when, on the one preceding, the king of the island entertaining some suspicion of their intention, sent a request for their boat, as he had taken a great fancy to it. This was evidently only a pretence to stop them, and render himself master of their money; on which the Europeans, who were then assembled in a hut on the sea-shore, deliberated on the conduct they should hold in this dilemma, and unanimously concluded, that they should give the king as gentle a denial as they could devise.

They quickly became sensible, that it was indispensable for them to be more on their guard than ever, as nothing but their destruction would be sought. But the natives having remarked that their powder was expended, because they no longer went in quest of game, surrounded them in numbers, and attacked their hut with great violence, wherein they long defended themselves. Their enemies then set fire to the hut, and, as it was constructed only of thick mats covered with straw, and the bark of trees, most of them were burnt within, and those who escaped half-roasted were brutally massacred.

Thus, of the whole company, no more than three Englishmen survived, who kept themselves concealed until the fury of the combat and the carnage had subsided. Some of the natives tak-

ing pity on them, gave them a small canoe, in which four men conducted them to Angasia.

These unfortunate persons met a favourable reception from the king of the western part of the island where they landed. He at first maintained them at his own expence. However, he soon became weary of his hospitality, and thenceforward allowed them to live as they best might.

During a year and a half, they subsisted on cocoa-nuts, and the milk of cows, which they found straying abroad; after which, one of them, unable to support this mode of life any longer, fell sick and died. His two comrades prepared to inter him; but as if the island would have been profaned by the sepulture of a European, the inhabitants of Mayotta interrupted them, and forced them to throw his body into the sea.

The two survivors being on the beach when our long-boat went ashore, said nothing until observing her departure, when they began to follow her swimming, and exerted themselves so much, and always shouting to attract notice, that they succeeded, and were taken on board. Having reached the ship, every one compassionating what they had undergone, and their still pitiable condition, hastened to supply them with food and clothing. On our arrival at Surat, the elder of the two repaired to the English there; the other, having declared that his father was a Dutchman, though settled at Boston, went to lodge with the Dutch.

The Comorro or Comora Islands, which have been frequently mentioned in the preceding narratives, are four in number, and take their name from Comora, the largest, which is also called An-

gasia. The three others are Mohilla, called Maoli by Tachard, Mayotta, and Johanna, which is spoke of under the name of Anjuan, but more correctly *Hinzuan*. All these islands are high, and visible at 50 miles distance in clear weather, which is fortunate for the mariner, as banks, rocks, and shoals abound in their vicinity. The Huntingdon East Indiaman was lost near Hinzuan about 1779 or 1780; and in 1782 the Brilliant drifted towards the shore of the same island, and was wrecked, while other ships have with great difficulty been towed clear of the breakers, when becalmed.

European vessels used formerly to resort to these islands for refreshments; and where they are necessary at Comora, it is now prudent to give the king or chief whatever price he demands. The town where he resides lies in $11^{\circ} 18'$ south latitude; it is large, and shaded by many cocoa-nut trees; and all provisions are plentiful. Mohilla, the smallest of the islands, is about twelve leagues distant. Mayotta is completely surrounded by a coral reef some miles distant from the shore, with smooth water within, accessible by a channel, which is little known. English ships, of late years, seldom avail themselves of the anchorage, which is situated in $12^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude, on the north of the island, being deterred by the surrounding dangers. The south part lies in $13^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude, and $45^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude.

The inhabitants of this island and Hinzuan are the descendents of Arabs, incorporated with Mahometans, or slaves purchased at Madagascar and Mozambique. Their manners are generally courteous and hospitable, but they are addicted to theft; and different occasions have proved their treachery. Hinzuan contains not less than 90 or 100,000 peo-

ple, who have a navy of twenty war boats, each capable of carrying 200 men, and prove a formidable force against the surrounding tribes. The women colour their lips and gums black with a certain substance, in order to embellish the appearance of their teeth ; and the hands and feet are dyed red, a common custom among eastern nations. Large and populous towns are seen on the island, composed of edifices, which show that the inhabitants have attained some degree of civilization ; and there are several mosques for celebrating the Mahometan religion. A great many priests are on the island, who are the best provided of all the people ; and the mufti, or chief priest, levies a fortieth part of the property of each individual for his own behoof. These islands seem to afford a ready reception to all foreigners, and the French, after the late capture of several of our British East-Indiamen, repaired thither.

LOSS OF THE DEGRAVE

EAST INDIAMAN, OFF THE COAST OF MADAGASCAR, 1701*.

THE dangers in the vicinity of the island of Madagascar have occasioned the loss of many vessels, among which is to be numbered the Degrave East-Indiaman, one of the finest ships belonging to Great Britain at the time. We owe the following narrative of the calamity to Robert Drury, a passenger bound for Bengal, who participated in it, and was detained fifteen years in captivity by the natives. Several years subsequent to his redemption, he published a long account of his adventures, from which some incidents relative to the shipwreck, and the fate of the survivors, are here abridged.

"I discovered," says Drury, "an early propensity for the sea, and thence rejected the inclination of my relations to breed me up to any art or trade. My mind had taken such an unhappy bent that

* Some suspicion was at one time thrown on the fidelity of Drury's narrative, which first appeared in 1729: but, considering the testimonies of the author's veracity, and comparing his relation with authentic accounts of Madagascar, as also a brief history of the same disaster, which came from another of the shipwrecked persons, it is probably to be admitted as genuine.

way, that what was at first propensity, at length became obstinate determination. No persuasion could alter my design,—not even the entreaties of my tender and indulgent mother, though she once besought me on her knees to abandon it. I resolved on an East India voyage, for which I can give no other reason but because I had a relation, John Steel, in Bengal, in the New East India Company's service.

My father fitted me out with the usual necessities and provisions for the voyage; and I had also an investment to the value of one hundred pounds, which was fully sufficient for a youth of my age. I was well recommended, and embarked on board the Degrave East Indiaman of 700 tons, mounting 52 guns, and commanded by Captain William Younge.

We passed through the Downs on the 19th of February 1701, while Admiral Benbow, who had a son the fourth mate of our ship, was lying there with a squadron bound for the West Indies. After a passage of three months and twenty days, we arrived at Fort St George, in the East Indies, having stopped one week at the Canary Islands in the way.

On board were M. Lassie, a jeweller, and his son, who had sailed with the intention of settling in India; and the boat was hoisted out the morning after our arrival to put them on shore, as the ship rode about two leagues off. They accordingly departed, and we expected to hear nothing of them until next day, when, about eight o'clock at night, a voice was heard hailing the ship. The people were greatly surprised, but they soon recognized it to be the voice of Joseph Chamberlain, one of the boat's crew. They hoisted out the pinnace,

and, rowing towards the place whence the voice proceeded, found him swimming on an oar. He said, that as soon as the boat reached the bar, a great sea took her on the larboard, by which she was upset; he could see nothing of the rest of the people, whence he supposed that they were all drowned, because the current set to leeward; but he being a good swimmer, with the help of one of the oars which he got hold of, made shift to come within call of the ship. A light was immediately hung at the top-mast-head to guide others, if any had been alive, and swimming like him; none, however, were ever after either seen or heard of. By this disaster, there perished Mr John Lassie, his son, and their cook, the coxswain, and nine of the boat's crew, and, with them, effects to the value of some thousand pounds.

In two days we weighed anchor, and made for Mausulipatam, where we remained a month, and thence sailed for Bengal. My relation hearing of my arrival, came on board to see me, and wished to carry me and my property ashore; but my father had desired Captain Younge to obtain information as to his reputation and fortune, and if he found him wanting sufficient ability or honesty to be entrusted with my effects, to keep me with himself.

The captain faithfully did so, and refused to let me go with him; on the contrary, he took my investment, and himself disposed of it.

Soon after we arrived my relation died, and there was a great mortality among the ship's crew; for during our stay here, which was nine months, we buried above forty of our people. The chief mate was of the number, and the captain survived

him only a month. His son, who was second mate, now succeeded to the command of the Degrave.

The sole advantage which I derived from being at Bengal, was learning to swim, which was afterwards the means of two or three times preserving my life as well as my liberty.

Our business at length finished, we sailed from Bengal, having 120 hands on board, two women, myself, and a few other passengers. Going down the river the ship ran aground, and stuck fast; but a very strong tide running, it turned her round; and at next high water we got her off, as we thought, without damage. On getting out to sea, however, she proved so leaky, that we were forced to keep two chain pumps continually going.

In this condition we remained two months, when we made Mauritius, an island to the eastward of Madagascar, inhabited by the Dutch, who treated us very civilly, and assisted us so far as was in their power. We erected a tent on shore, and unladed a great quantity of the cargo, searching for the leak, which we were unable to discover.

Captain Boon, a pirate, had been here about two months before, just after plundering a very rich Moorish ship. He took out of her fifty lascars; and, having then lost his own ship on this island, he made a small sloop of his long-boat, but was forced to leave them behind. We took them on board, thinking they would be of use, and that it would save our own hands at the pump, as for two months they had got very little rest.

We staid a month at Mauritius, and then departed, shaping our course directly for the Cape of Good Hope.

The leak gained on us more and more, and we had much difficulty to keep the ship above water.

Our men were all exhausted with continual labour, pumping and baling night and day : when an hundred leagues to the southward of Madagascar, by reckoning, we threw overboard several of our guns, and heavy goods, to lighten her. The captain was for keeping on his course to the Cape of Good Hope ; but the ship's company were all against it, being of opinion, that they could not make her swim long enough, as they then judged themselves about 600 leagues distant from it ; whereas they were only one hundred from Madagascar, which was the nearest land. With much difficulty they prevailed on the captain to put back to Madagascar.

The wind being favourable, I and the captain's boy were, on the third day, sent to the mast-head to look out for land. No other person could be spared for that purpose ; and, in such an extremity of life and death, my being a passenger was not considered. Accordingly I ascended, and sat there about two hours and a-half before I saw any thing like land. When I first observed it, I told my companion, but, from the uncertainty, would not call out ; for the truth was of too great importance to amuse the people with vain hopes. At length, distinguishing a white cliff and smoke at a distance from it, I cried out, *land, land*.

Several then ran up the shrouds, and even the captain himself to see it : one of them said he knew the land ; that it was Port Dauphine, in Madagascar ; and that the king of that part was at enmity with all white men, and treated Europeans barbarously. This intelligence put us in the utmost confusion and despair, and actually proved our utter ruin.

The man who informed us was so far right, in-

deed, that they were enemies to the French, and had murdered all they could find on the island, in revenge of an injury done to their king ; but they were hostile to no other white men, so that had we put in here, we should have saved our lives and part of our cargo.

Thus not daring to venture into Port Dauphine, for fear of falling into the hands of revengeful and barbarous murderers, as we thought them, a north-east wind prevented us from getting to the northward ; neither was there any port or harbour to the westward within a week's sail. The captain, therefore, resolved to steer along the western coast, to search for some place to run the ship into, or put ashore with safety to our lives.

At length we got pretty near the shore, but no suitable place could be found. The hold was half full of water ; and the men repaired to the captain, asking him what he designed to do, as the ship could swim no longer. He went into the round-house for a minute or two ; and when he came out, asked them if they desired that he should run the ship ashore at all hazards : to which the whole assented, crying out, *any thing to save our lives.*

There was a sand bank here which extended two leagues along ; we came within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and let go an anchor, first without the breakers, and then cut down all the masts and rigging, threw the guns overboard, and tried whatever means we could adopt to make the ship swim, till we could ourselves reach the land. We lost our long-boat and pinnace at Bengal ; and, having only one small boat left, we constructed a raft of some planks and yards.

At this time several of the natives, who were

fishing, seeing us in distress, made a smoke on shore to guide and invite us thither ; but we had heard such a bad character of the country, that we could not tell what to expect from them, though we were now told that this was another prince's territory.

We finished the raft in the night, and in the morning sent Mr Pratt, our chief mate, and four men in the boat, with a long rope for a warp to fasten on the land. A great sea runs here on the rocks ; and the boat was staved to pieces before they got ashore : but being then pretty near the land, the people saved that part of her to which the rope was fastened, by the help of the natives.

We had two English women on board, one of whom, and the captain, refused to go on the raft ; but the other woman and about forty or fifty of us ventured. I stripped myself, and made two purses and a silver cup fast about my middle. Hauling by the rope towards the shore, we were no sooner among the breakers, than the first sea overset the raft, and washed us off. Some who swam to the raft again were soon washed away : and the woman was drowned just beside me. I dived under every wave, and, with great difficulty, got on shore ; as did every one else who had been on the raft, except the woman. Such a surf ran, and the sea broke so high, that we durst not venture out to return the raft ; which the captain observing, ordered the cable to be cut, that the ship might drive nearer the land, where she soon beat to pieces.

The captain got ashore with his father's heart in his hand, which, according to his request, when dying, was put into a bottle to be brought to England, and buried at Dover. All at length reached the land, excepting two men and the woman

already mentioned: the other woman escaped, though she was so full of water, as were also some others, that we were forced to roll and rub them well to make them disgorge it. They were likewise laid before a great fire, and in time they revived.

We were about 160 in number, counting the lascars. But the country now began to be alarmed, and we had already 200 or 300 negroes about us, picking up pieces of silk and fine calico, though they disregarded the muslin. Whole bales of goods were drove ashore; for, notwithstanding the quantities thrown overboard, there might be 300 tons remaining in the vessel.

Meantime a native brought down an ox, and made signs for us to kill him: on which, we signified that we had neither guns nor ammunition; and he then lent us his gun, ready loaded, with which we shot the animal.

We remained here two days and nights without coming to any resolution, or knowing what to do. We were told that Port Dauphine was only sixty miles from us; but the opinion we had formed of there being a barbarous people in that vicinity, prevented us from going thither.

The following evening, about nine o'clock, we heard a man call out, Holla! like an Englishman, at a great distance; on coming nearer, he proved to be actually such, and asked us who we were. On our telling him, he informed the captain that the king of the country had sent him to tell us that we had no reason to fear any thing, though we were in a strange place, and that he would himself come down next day to see us. This Englishman informed us also, in answer to our inquiries, that, being on a voyage to India, the ship

was plundered by a pirate, who took him and nine men out, and then let her off. On getting into Mattatan road, he feigned himself sick, and incapable of going to sea again, whence the piratical captain sailed without him. After remaining there about three months, Captain Drummond, a Scotchman, came to trade with the island; but when he had been here three days, he also was taken by pirates. One Captain Stewart was with him, whom, along with Captain Drummond, and three or four hands more, they allowed to go ashore in the captain's long-boat. At this time there was another Englishman and his wife likewise there; and they, together with the first, whose name was Sam, entertained the strangers in their cottages. Captain Drummond greatly lamented the loss of his ship, and resolved, if possible, to get to St Augustine's Bay; and the rest, including one negro, readily agreed to accompany him. After sailing three or four days, they came to the southward of Port Dauphine, when the wind shifted, and blew so hard that they could not carry sail, so that they drove on shore, within three or four leagues of their present situation. All their money, arms, and ammunition, however, were saved; and the natives treating them civilly, conducted them up to a town. The king sent his son and fifty men to carry them into the country, whither Captain Drummond was averse to go, and was for resisting the wishes of the natives by force; but the rest rather wished compliance; and in three days they reached the king's residence. The king said they should want for nothing; however, Captain Drummond desired permission to reach some place where he could embark, as he wished to return to his own country, which the

king refused. About two months before the Degrave was wrecked, the party attempted to escape by concealing themselves in the woods, and set out on a moonlight night. The natives immediately followed ; and, having overtaken them at night, after some resistance, forced them to return to the king, who, though one of his men had been wounded, only told them, if ever they ran away again, they should repent it.

Such is an abstract of the account that Sam the Englishman gave to the people of the Degrave, which they attentively listened to, and then, as it was very late, retired with heavy hearts to repose under the bushes. Now, my own obstinacy and disobedience of my mother's entreaties rose to my view, though I could not complain of the justice of my punishment. I could only shed tears of regret that I had thus wilfully run in the way of misery.

We all arose at dawn, most of my fellow sufferers having got no more rest than I ; for the Englishman's relation made us despair of relief, so that nothing but lamentations and distress affected every man. We had been unable to save either arms or ammunition, and the want of these were likely to prove our destruction ; for nearly 170 people would have made their way through the country had they possessed weapons to defend themselves : But fate had so ordained it, that nothing was left but our lives, and the pain of expecting perpetual slavery.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the king came down with nearly 200 natives, armed with lances. On observing them coming towards us, we all drew up in a body, with the captain at our head fronting them. When they came near, he called Sam, and asked which was our captain, who being pointed out, he saluted him, taking him by the hand ; and the cap-

tain in return saluted him, in such words as Sam had said were proper to be used. He then presented us with four large bullocks, and other provisions, as also vessels to boil our victuals in. Having staid two hours with us, he went to the cottage, where he designed to lie all night. He asked several questions about the ship, and the manner of her being lost, telling the captain that he was sorry for his misfortunes and the disaster; though, in my opinion, he was glad of it, for he afterwards proved more brutish and dishonest than most of the other kings in the island, and his whole nation were for many years clothed out of the goods they had saved from the wreck.

Next morning the king again visited us, and said that we must prepare to accompany him to his town, where he would plentifully provide for us, and we should want for nothing that the country afforded. Captain Younge, by means of the interpreter, returned him a thousand thanks for the civilities we had already received, for which he said he was not only unable to make any satisfaction, but extremely unwilling to put him to the further trouble and charge of maintaining so many people. The king replied, though there were as many more he should not think us any trouble or charge, for he should be sufficiently recompensed by having so many white men in his dominions.

The captain, by these words, quickly developed his intention, which made him hesitate how to reply. After some reflection, he desired Sam to say that we had wives, children, and relations, whence it was impossible for us to live here always; and therefore requested that he would allow us to go to some port where we might find ships, and em-

bark for our native country. The king having thought a considerable time, at length told us, that we should stay with him until some ships came to trade, and then we should go home. The captain being aware, however, that there was no port in his territory, conceived that this was only a device to detain us, and bid Sam tell him that he would think of it, and return an answer as to-morrow; on which the king departed, and gave us no more trouble that day.

When he was gone, the captain called us together, and, in a very affecting speech, said, "I am now on an equality with every man here present, my fortune as low, and my life no more to be valued; therefore, I do not pretend to command, but to consult with you in this extremity. I am happy that our misfortunes are not owing to me, for I would rather have kept on my course to the Cape of Good Hope, and trusted to Providence, in a leaky ship, than have put in here. Consider we have neither arms nor ammunition to defend ourselves, and that the king has refused us a passage through his country to a sea-port. Think of this, and consult your own safety as well as you can. Only agree in one mind, and I am ready to act according to your wishes. As for my life, I set no value on it: Now it is not worth preserving!"

As the captain had advised, we consulted together, and soon agreed, for indeed there was no choice. Since we had no arms, and had been refused liberty to go to a sea-port, we resolved to march quietly up the country with the king, where we should perhaps see Captain Drummond.

Next morning the king came to visit the captain; they saluted each other as usual, and sat down together on the sand, we standing around them. When

seated, the king asked the captain whether he was ready to travel, as it would be best to walk in the cool of the morning, and rest at noon. The captain construing this into an order, signified that we were ready to go when he pleased, at which he seemed satisfied ; and desired Sam to tell us he was about to breakfast, and advised us to do the same, that we might be the better able to travel.

But we had little satisfaction in our repast, especially that now the hour was come when we were obliged to leave the sea-side ; and it galled us to the quick to think how we were forced up the country, at the pleasure of heathenish negroes, like a flock of sheep, without the power of making terms for ourselves like men. Some cursed and lamented their hard fortune ; but, for my part, I could see no reason to blame any body.

The word was given to advance. I was always ready, for I had taken nothing except one suit of clothes, and the things I brought ashore, but many of our people took pieces of silk and fine calico. We left the sea with heavy hearts, looking wishfully behind us as long as we could discern it ; and as often as we did so, we could see the negroes hard at work, breaking up our bales, and enriching themselves with plunder. Of this there was so much to be got, that but few returned with the king.

Our people were in a very indifferent condition for travelling ; all tired with working and want of rest, many lamed with hurts received in getting ashore, and some without shoes, or having very bad ones. Then the country near the sea-side, and for a few miles farther in, was woody, full of short thorny shrubs and underwood, which tore our clothes to rags. The ground was sandy, and the

path very narrow, so that when the sun rose pretty high, it scorched our feet in such a manner that we were not able to walk.

About noon, we reached one of their small villages, consisting of eight or ten huts, not more than eight or nine feet long, and six or seven high. Our people crept into them by doors, three or four feet high, to rest, and to see if they could procure provisions, for the king gave us liberty to take whatever we could get. The inhabitants were all absent, the men down at the wreck, and the women and children had fled into the woods at our approach. Here we reposed during the heat of the sun, and marched again in the cool of the afternoon.

In a short time we came into a more open country, and on a better path; and the king having now got us several miles from the sea, advanced before to his own residence, leaving us to the care of his chief officer, with strict orders to provide for whatever we wanted. At night we rested at a village similar to the former, and rose by daylight.

This day was spent much in the same manner as the preceding, only with somewhat greater difficulty to those wanting shoes, as their feet were sorely pricked and hurt in the woods.

On the third day of the march we came to our journey's end. We were forced to walk faster this day than any of the other two, because there was a greater distance to travel; and I lost one of my purses on the way, which would have been of little use had I kept it.

The king's residence was, I suppose, about fifty miles from the sea-side, as we probably travelled sixteen or seventeen miles each day. It stood in a wood, and was secured in a particular manner,

with trees all around it, which seemed to have been planted there when very young. They grew very straight and tall, and so close together, that a small dog could not pass between them. They were also naturally armed with large strong thorns, so that it was impossible either to break through or climb over. There were but two gates or passages, one to the north, the other to the south, which would not admit more than two persons abreast ; and the compass of the whole was about a mile.

On approaching near this place we halted, whilst Sam went to acquaint the king of our coming, who ordered that we should stay until he prepared himself to receive us. He soon sent for us, and we marched in order by fours ; he sat on a seat, cross-legged, in the open air, just before the door of his house, having a gun leaning on his shoulder, and a brace of pistols lying by him. His sons and kinsmen were in the same manner sitting on the ground, on each hand, with guns and lances ; and the people joined them on both sides, so as together to form a half-moon. Mats were spread from one end of the people to the other for us to sit on, so that when we sat down the whole assembly almost formed a circle.

When we were seated, the king bid the captain welcome, and sent for ten calabashes of *toak*, a kind of beverage in that country, six of which he gave to our people, three to his own, and kept one to divide between the captain and himself. He also sent for Captain Drummond, Captain Stewart, and the rest of their party, whom Captain Younge rose to receive, and, after exchanging salutations, the two captains sat down by each other. The cup presented to Captain Younge being dirty

was sent to be washed, and meantime I took out my cup and presented it to him. When we had drank out of it, the king desired it to be shewn to him, and he was so wonderfully delighted, that he requested it for himself. But the captain said it was not his own, and that it belonged to a boy who was behind him. I therefore called Sam, and begged him to tell the king, that, "Seeing so many people had drank out of it, I did not conceive that it would be fit for his use;" at which he and his people too laughed heartily. He desired me to stand up, that he might see me; however, I kept my cup that time. Night drawing on, he took his leave, and ordered us a bullock for supper. He would not trust us all to lie in the town, on which account, there were few besides the captain, Mr Pratt, the chief mate, Mr Benbow, and myself, who lay within the gates. A hut next to Captain Drummond and his companions was prepared for us; the rest lay under the trees.

In this manner we lived some time, every morning going in a body to visit the king, until he desired Sam to inform us, that he had a very potent enemy to the westward, who had hitherto been too powerful for him; but, since his gods had sent him white men, he would take an opportunity once more to try his strength, with our assistance. In the meantime, he must distribute us in other towns, among his sons, both for greater convenience of providing provisions for such a number, and to relieve himself of a charge too great and troublesome for him alone to sustain. He also sent to me this night to beg the cup, which I did not refuse, knowing that it was in his power to take it by force.

This parting was a terrible blow to us, and we returned to our cottages with heavy hearts, appre-

hending that we should never get off the island if we could not prevent our separation. The three captains held a consultation with a few of the chief among us, concerning what was proper to be done in this emergency. Captain Drummond proposed to take the king prisoner, and, by that means, to make our own terms with his people, which was universally approved of. Ignorant of their designs, I slept soundly until morning, that I was awakened by a sudden noise in the town, occasioned by putting the plot in execution. The signal was firing a pistol, when the king and his son were at the same time seized.

This immediately alarmed the whole town. I started up, frightened at the sudden cry and uproar, and, ignorant of what was the matter, began to run along with the negroes running out of the town, until I was observed and called back by one of our men. I was as much amazed as the natives, to see the king, his wife, and one of his sons, with their hands tied behind them, and guarded by our people, who soon plundered his house, and every other place, in search of things fit for their purpose. They found about thirty small arms, some powder and shot, and some lances.

The natives having collected strength in the neighbourhood, besieged us in the town, and fired in upon us. One of our men was wounded in the groin, on which Captain Younge desired Sam to inform the king that he would immediately kill him if they fired any more. The king then desired them to desist, if they meant to save his life.

This attempt was truly bold and hazardous. Some may perhaps think it criminal, and I shall say little in its defence.

We at length put ourselves in order, and marched out of the town. Six armed men advanced in front, and, in the body where the king was, six marched before him and six behind ; three before and three behind his son ; and six brought up the rear, in which were the lascars. Captain Younge, in pity, released the queen ; but she would not leave her husband.

When we had advanced four miles on our march, the wounded man fainted ; and, as we could not stay to make preparations for carrying him, we were obliged to leave him by the side of a pond. There, I was afterwards informed, the natives put an end to his pain, by running him through with their lances. Two or three miles farther on, we got out of the woods, into a large open plain, and soon found, from the view it afforded us, that the natives were near, and numerous, and threatening an immediate attack. We faced towards them, our armed men in front, with the king before them bound. Sam was ordered to tell him that there was no intention of hurting either him or his son, or of carrying them into their enemies' country, but only to detain them as a pledge for our own safety, while we marched through his dominions : that, as-soon as we reached the confines of the territory of Port Dauphine, they should be released, and the arms and ammunition we had taken restored ; but, if any violence was offered to us, that they should be sacrificed.

On this the king called one of his chief men, who came, leaving his lance and gun behind him, and, hearing our design, he assured us that not a gun should be fired while we kept the king alive, and used him well.

Exhausted with the journey, we halted for the night, sooner than we should otherwise have done, when a round trench was made like a ring, in the midst of which we placed the king and his son; and our captain, with a few others, were appointed to guard them. The armed men were divided into four parties, so as might best secure us; just as we had done so, the chief man came along with three people bringing a bullock. He carried some roasted meat in his hand, and a horn of water for the king; therefore, we loosed his own, and his son's hands, that they might feed themselves. They ate a little, and gave the rest to Captain Younge.

Meantime, we were busy killing the ox, and requested the king to send some of his people into the woods for fuel, which he readily did. But we had no water, and, on complaining of this to the king, he said, none was to be got nearer than the pond, at which we had left our wounded man, where his horn was filled, and which we judged might be ten miles distant. We were much disheartened by this, being parched with thirst; but after cutting up the bullock, we broiled and ate it, and then endeavoured to repose on the ground. The three captains agreed to watch by turns, and divided the people into three parties for that purpose. The king desired his wife to go home and comfort his children, which she complied with, weeping at the separation, as did also he and his son.

We arose by day-light, this being the second day of our journey; and the better to strengthen us, ate some of the remains of our beef, without drink. Preserving the same order as on the preceding day, we advanced; the natives all the while

observing our motions. Seeing us move, they moved also, but kept at a greater distance, and went into our camp, after we had left it, searching for what they could find. Their labour was not wholly lost, for many of our people were glad to leave behind them half the India goods which they had brought out of the town, that they might now travel with greater ease.

About noon, the same chief man among the natives brought some roast meat, and a horn of water, with which he fed the king and his son, for we did not loose their hands. He desired Sam, the Englishman, to ask the captains whether they would release the king for six guns. A debate ensued on this proposal, which ended in his being told, if they would give us six very good guns, and promise not to follow, but return back with the king, we should release him ; and, on reaching the river Manderra, which separated his dominions from the Port Dauphine territory, we should release his son likewise. The chief man, surprised at this unexpected condescension, dispatched one of his people to the king's other sons, and they soon sent us the six guns. They made the more haste, lest we should alter our opinion ; and we, having taken the guns to pieces, to examine whether they were good, released the king. Great joy was expressed at his return ; his sons embraced his knees, his principal people licked his feet, and, among the rest, there was shouting, hallooing, and firing of guns, to testify their satisfaction.

We could not help stopping to see this scene, and then advanced. Our thirst increased in the afternoon, and our people began to be sensibly weaker and weaker ; but the captains walked slowly on, which made the travelling somewhat easier.

On coming to a sandy place, when near sunset, we halted and formed our camp; the natives perceiving this, also formed theirs. They divided into six parties, and so arranged themselves as nearly to surround us, which created some apprehensions; we were, besides, parched with thirst, and crawled on the ground to lick the dew.

Next day we rose early, and soon advanced, the natives still observing our motions. The same chief man desired to speak with the king's son, and, after a little conversation, signified to Captain Younge, if they would release him, that three of their principal men should be put in his place. This also was agreed to, and three men delivered to us in exchange for the king's son, who shook hands with the captains, and then joined his father's people.

We now proceeded on our journey as well as our feeble limbs could carry us, wanting meat and drink; and soon discovered the error we had committed. The natives, instead of going back, approached nearer to us, and some marched before; so that we every minute expected to be assaulted. Among us was a young lad who had lost his leg at Bengal, but had a wooden one. Though well fitted, he was not able to keep up with us; for, surprised with the conduct of the natives, we made greater haste than before, insomuch that we were forced to leave this poor lad behind. As they came up with him, we saw them take off his wooden leg and make sport with it, bidding him follow us. At last they run him through with lances, and left him weltering in his blood. We saw plainly what we had to expect from them, and hurried on as fast as our feeble limbs would allow us till sunset, when

we came to a large tamarind tree, which we climbed for leaves to chew.

The three black men with us observing what passed, began to be afraid for their lives; because they thought that they would surely be put to death if their people attacked us. They therefore proposed that our march should be renewed whenever it was dark; to which we agreed, and decamped slowly and silently. Captain Drummond was by this time so ill that he could not walk, and none of us could carry him: on which account we resolved to make the three natives do it alternately. One of them, however, took an opportunity to escape, whence we took better care of the other two.

We were told, that next morning we should reach the river Manderra, whence we made great exertions during the night; and when the sun was rising, we came in sight of it, though still far off; but even this revived our spirits, and some who were tired sat down, thinking the natives would never come in sight of us again. We proved grievously mistaken, however; for, when within a mile of the river, they overtook us, and began to murder our people who were resting under the trees. I was one of those who could not travel well; but there were twenty behind me. Observing them kill the people as they overtook them, I tore off my coat, and afterwards my waistcoat, that they should not embarrass me, and began running, as the farthest advanced people had got over the river. Looking back at the report of a gun, I saw the woman fall, and the negroes running her through. It was my turn next, and had just got to the river side as they fired at me; but I crossed it to those of our people who had made a stand, and faced

them, so that they would not venture over. Our captain asked me if any more of our people were to be expected; on which I told him they were all killed. We waited a little notwithstanding, and then advanced through a wood. The natives followed any of those getting into the woods, and killed three or four of our men from behind the trees. Two miles further on, we came to a sandy plain, where they divided themselves into several bodies, in order to break in upon us on every side: we therefore divided into four parts, one commanded by each captain, and the fourth by Mr John Benbow. There were only six and thirty pieces among us, and not many more people fit to fight; a poor handful to withstand three or four thousand.

From morn until six in the afternoon, we kept the natives at bay, when all our shot was done; and now we began to reflect on the consequences of delivering up the king and his son. Our two hostages expected every moment to be killed; but this would have done us no good, wherefore we spared them. At length it was agreed to send the other woman, who had come here with Sam, and her husband, with a flag of truce, consisting of a piece of red silk tied to a lance. She told them that we should restore the hostages, and likewise the arms, on getting a little farther into the country; and they answered, that if we would deliver them up, they would let us go in the morning, but not this evening, because it was dark. They conceived, if we got away, that we should send some of their enemies, from the district where we now were, against them.

The proposal of the natives created much difficulty among us, we were loath to part with the arms, and Captain Drummond, Captain Stewart,

and their party, as also Mr Benbow, opposed it ; but Captain Younge was of a different opinion, and a majority coincided with him. The woman was thus sent back with an answer, and they sent for the arms. Captain Drummond and his party, however, refused to give up those in their possession.

At day-break we immediately missed Captain Drummond, Captain Stewart, Mr Benbow, the woman, and her husband, with four or five more ; they had departed silently in the night, without giving us warning. It was no sooner broad day than the natives arrived, and the king's son asked Sam what had come of Captain Drummond ; another of the sons seized me, and three or four youths like me, and having delivered us to his people, we were bound with ropes. I then saw the same person run his lance into Captain Younge's throat, and into his sides. No sooner had he killed him, than he went to another, and the rest of his people, quickly following his example, soon murdered every one of the party. Next they fell to stripping them, and ripped up several of their bellies. As for my part, I did not know what more miserable death might be reserved for me, as one of the chief people came with his spear raised to strike, but the man who held me prevented him, giving some reason, which I could not at that time understand.

After the natives had butchered our people, and clothed themselves in their garments, they marched away in great haste, for fear of the Port Dauphine inhabitants, because they apprehended that Captain Drummond and the rest had been gone long enough to alarm them, and send some forces down to rescue us. I afterwards learned that we were scarce marched off the spot, when the king of that

territory had two thousand men down for our relief.

It will be asked why we did not send two or three of our people for assistance, as soon as we crossed the river; but I think we were all infatuated, which is the only answer I can make. Our plot was originally well laid, and well executed; but miserably conducted in the sequel. Indeed, the stupidity of so many people is hardly credible. The whole of us bore great affection for Captain Younge's father, which induced us to think the better of his son; but I have since found that he wanted experience, and I remember that Captain Drummond opposed him in several things.

Only myself and other three were saved and made slaves; the eldest of us was not above sixteen years old; we were immediately separated, as the natives marched directly off the spot. I do not count Sam the Englishman of our number, for he went off with the natives, and I never saw him in future, though I understood that he lived a free-man under a chief called *Crindo*. Whether he was as faithful to us as he should have been, is doubtful.

All the way I had the ghastly prospect of our men's mangled corpses, in passing through the woods to the river; I was less thirsty now than before, but so faint for want of food, having had none for three days, that I could scarcely stand. My master seemed concerned for me; however, he hastened over the river. Here we got some provisions and rested about an hour, when the person who had the care of me made signs, inquiring whether I was able to walk. The remainder of the day we travelled with more ease than I expected, as they advanced leisurely on my account.

At night we came to a wood, where we were to repose, and there got more provisions. Their repast finished, every one began to pull grass up by the roots to lie on, and the man who had the care of me, pulled as much as served us both. We then lay down together, but I had little rest; for the horrid spectacle of my massacred friends was constantly before me, and made me start from sleep whenever my eyes were closed.

We arose at day-break, and after the usual repast marched on till noon, when we halted among some shady trees near a pond. This very pond, I observed, we had passed the day before within two hundred yards, while dying with thirst, and hearing from the natives that there was no water near us.

That same evening we arrived at a little town, where I was exposed to the derision of the women and children, until my guardian came and drove them away. All the empty houses were occupied by my master, his brother, and other chief men, so that we lay in the open air. The army had dispersed the first day of the retreat. A thousand distracting thoughts now seized me. The insults I met with from the women and children, made me conceive that I was kept alive only to be carried to the king and his son, who, to gratify their pleasure and revenge, might order me to be put to death with horrible torments in their own sight. When, through fatigue, I had fallen into a slumber, I was so terrified by dreams, that I started up, trembling in every joint, and lay the rest of the night awake.

At broad day-light we marched homeward, for I am compelled to give it that name, and in three or four hours came to a pretty large town, with

great tamarind trees before it. One of the natives then sounded a shell, which brought the women to a capacious house, about twelve feet high, in the middle of the town. This house I found belonged to a chief called Mevarrow, grandson to Crindo, before named. He had scarce seated himself at the door, when his wife came crawling on her hands and knees to lick his feet; and the same was done by all the women of the town to their husbands. She was the daughter of a king to the northward, who was vanquished in battle, and she had been taken prisoner. However, though a slave, Mevarrow married her; and the sense of her own condition made her have the more compassion on me.

I lived many years in captivity, sometimes changing my residence, and participating in the wars of the country. Soon after I was taken, the king of the Port Dauphine territory offered to purchase me for two guns; and, on that occasion, Captain Drummond and the other white men of his party were present. He knew me, called me by my name, and asked me how I did; but Mevarrow clapped his hand on my mouth, and threatened to kill me if I spoke. Captain Drummond, probably supposing that I did not hear, advanced nearer with his white men, whereupon my master, thinking they wished to take me by force, and cheat him of the two guns, fired upon them. A skirmish commenced, and I was immediately sent off under a strong guard to the woods, where I was tied by the legs, lest I should run away.

Long after this, in an interview with a chief called Rinanno, he expressed his surprise to see a white man serving negroes, and said, if the king of

the Augustin Bay country had me, he would give me clothes, and take care of me until some of the ships, which were frequently there with white men, conveyed me from it. Having contrived to speak to him alone, at night I related my shipwreck and whole misfortunes, and informed him of my master's cruel treatment, and my miserable slavery, which drew tears from his eyes. He said that he would endeavour to buy me from Mevarrow; and, accordingly, next day told him, that he should have either a young man who would be of more service, or a buccaneer gun. My master, however, refused to part with me, alleging, that for tending cattle, digging wild-yams, and procuring honey, there was not my equal; and that he would not take two buccaneer guns for me, though one was the price of a slave. Rinanno then shewed him several slaves; however, Mevarrow plainly told him that he would not part with me on any condition; and I was sent to the woods to dig yams.

From information that I received from this chief, I determined to make my escape, and get to St Augustine Bay, which seemed to be little more than twenty days journey distant. There was plenty of provisions to be found on the way; and he gave me instructions how to hold my course. Immediately afterwards, Mevarrow, to my great disappointment, shifted his residence, which put an end to my plan.

In an expedition against an enemy, I was allowed to carry a gun; and, in the assault of a town, I was lucky enough to take the chief's wife and daughter prisoners. The latter was very handsome, about sixteen; and my master offered me

which I chose. I was not long in deciding ; and, as the daughter had no objection to it, I married her. Thenceforward my life was more comfortable ; and this was the only pleasure I enjoyed under slavery.

At length, however, I determined to make my escape, which I effected during the night, having in vain endeavoured to persuade my wife to accompany me ; and it was with much distress that I left her behind. Passing through the woods and plains, I reached a town subordinate to a chief named Afferrer, about sixty miles from Mevarrow's residence, and going directly to him, claimed his protection : I recounted the hardships I suffered, that my life was daily in danger, now more so than ever. The chief rejoiced at my arrival, he promised to protect me, and said that I should no longer be a slave.

Mevarrow soon sent to demand me back, but Afferrer refused it, saying, nobody ever saw a white man a slave before ; that I was at liberty to go where I chose, or to remain ; likewise, that he considered me as a distressed man who had fled to him for relief.

After this I changed my master several times, and underwent many dangers and hardships. A chief called Trougha, was of particular service to me, but he was unfortunately killed ; and another, called Rer Moume, was instrumental in allowing me to gain my liberty. I met a young man, William Thornbury, an Englishman, at Moharbo, who, nine years before, had been accidentally left on the island. The chief of the country provided him with every thing, and promised to send him home in the first ship. I arranged with him,

that if either of us should, by any scheme, get to England, he should let the relations of the other know.

Accordingly, this young Englishman did find an opportunity, which I narrowly missed, of going home in a vessel that came to trade. The master who then had me in slavery, took care that I should be secured; and I was severely disappointed, though I confided in what Thornbury was to do; neither did he forget me: Two ships afterwards arrived, one commanded by Captain William Macket, who sent to say he had a letter on board from my father to me. Rer Moume, with whom I was at that time, wished me to remain with him; but he did not oppose my departure: and when I asked him what the captain should give for my ransom, he answered nothing; only, if I and my friends would make him a present of a gun, he should keep it in remembrance of me. A very handsome one, with powder, and flints, and a case of spirits, were therefore given to this chief.

When I came to the two captains of the vessels, I stared at them, as if I had never seen a white man before. I was naked, except a cloth about my loins; my skin swarthy, and full of freckles; my hair long and felted together, so that I had really a very frightful appearance. However, they soon restored me to a European form; my hair was cut, and I was shaved; and then clothed in a neat seaman's habit, light and suited to a hot climate. In two or three days I went on board, where the sea, and change of diet, made me extremely sick for three or four days.

The captains being engaged in the slave trade, I assisted them in trafficking; and, in a short

excursion, learned that Captain Drummond had been killed in the island, but Mr Benbow got home to England. It was said, though I could not hear the exact manner of his death, that one Captain Green, commander of an East India ship, was hanged in Scotland, for the murder of him and his people.

On the 20th of January 1717, I bid adieu to the island of Madagascar. Touching at St Helena, I went ashore, and took care of some slaves who were sick. We thence went to Barbadoes; and having staid there a week, sailed for Jamaica, where we delivered our cargo of slaves. The captain not only took a paternal charge of me when on board, but supplied me with money at every place we came to, though I hardly knew the use of it; and committed some ludicrous mistakes.

While at Jamaica, we prepared to sail with a fleet under convoy of the *Winchelsea*, a 40 gun ship, and departed on the 5th of July, beating through the windward passage. Near Crooked Island we saw two sloops, which the *Winchelsea* suspected to be pirates; and, striking her pendant, appeared so like a merchantman, that the largest sloop gave chase, hoisting a black ensign and jack. However, she suddenly altered her course, and stood in for the land again. The *Winchelsea* could not follow her, but our captain did, as we mounted sixteen guns, and exchanged several shot. Night coming on, the pirate escaped, but plundered two of the sternmost ships in the fleet.

A few days after this, we unfortunately ran foul of the *Winchelsea*, stem for stem, while she was unexpectedly tacking, which staved our bow to the water's edge; and she lost her head, and carried away her sprit-sail-yard. We should have

sunk had it been bad weather, but luckily it was otherwise. With the assistance of the Winchelsea's people, and others, we made a temporary repair, though obliged to return to the Bahama Islands, whither she and the fleet accompanied us; and there we again fitted ourselves for sea.

On Saturday the 9th of December 1717, we arrived in the Downs, after I had been sixteen years and nine months absent from England: and there I returned thanks to God for my safe return to my native country, after the imminent dangers I had been exposed to, and the miseries I had suffered."

It is not clearly explained what came of Mr Benbow after reaching the Port Dauphine territory; but it has been said, that he lived several years with the natives, going naked, and following their customs. At length he escaped on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which had been acquainted with his father, and on that account now treated him with great kindness. He was thus enabled to return to England in safety.

The fate of Captain Drummond, obscurely alluded to above, excited much interest at the period, and was a considerable time involved in mystery.

Captain Thomas Green sailed on a trading voyage to the coast of Africa, about the year 1702, in a ship called the Worcester, with 35 or 36 men, and afterwards went to Ceylon and other European settlements in India. While on the coast of Malabar, he embarked with about 20 men, in a sloop, or launch, belonging to the Worcester, and attacked a vessel, commanded by Captain Drummond, at a distance from the shore. The assail-

ants were repeatedly repulsed ; and only on the third day did they resolve on boarding, which enabled them to overpower the crew, but twelve or fourteen in number, and take possession of the vessel. This was not done without some loss on their own part, as a vigorous resistance was made ; and, meantime, the Worcester came up and fired into the vessel under Captain Drummond's command. But the assailants having thus become masters of her, barbarously dragged the people from below decks, and murdered them with hatchets and cutlasses, and then threw their bodies into the sea. They were the better enabled to perpetrate this atrocious deed, from sickness prevailing among the sufferers, and their vessel being of inconsiderable size. She was taken in tow by the Worcester ; and, being carried to the coast of Malabar, was there sold to a native trader, who afterwards pretended he had bought her elsewhere.

Some days subsequent to the capture, the surgeon of the Worcester, who had been accidentally left ashore when she sailed, was surprised to see her riding with another vessel at her stern, and, on going on board, observed her decks lumbered with goods, which did not seem to belong to her. But his inquiries were soon checked by the first mate's execrations, and warning him to "mind his medicine chest." Besides, when some of the men who had been wounded, came to him to be dressed, he was cautioned against asking questions, and they in making answers to his interrogatories. The like secrecy was preserved by others of the crew ; and although this was not their first piratical act, they considered it expedient to beware of the consequences of disclosure, and feigned, that they had made the land in order

to obtain a new supply of water, having staved their casks on board.

The most atrocious crimes, however, are often unexpectedly brought to light ; and two years after the murder of Captain Drummond, and his unfortunate crew, the truth began to transpire.

A ship belonging to the Scottish African Company was, for some cause with which we are unacquainted, seized in the Downs, by special order of the East India Company. This the former considered a very great grievance, and, by way of reprisal, seized the Worcester as an English East India trader, immediately on her arrival in Leith Roads. A civil suit was next brought in the Scottish court of admiralty, for having the legality of seizing the Worcester declared.

Captain David Monro, who had been employed to make the seizure, observed that the gunner was extremely uneasy and could not rest in his hammock from supposing that it was for some other purpose, than mere reprisal, that this proceeding had been adopted. The gunner's solicitude as to the motive, and his asking whether there was no design on the lives of him and his comrades, first excited suspicion.

Some indiscreet expressions of the crew, contributed still farther to shew that their operations during the voyage had been reprehensible ; for, while a person belonging to the Scottish Company drinking along with them, remarked what a scourge Captain Gordon, of a frigate, had been to the French privateers on the east coast of Scotland, George Haines, steward of the Worcester, boasted, " that his sloop was more terrible on the coast of Malabar, than ever Captain Gordon was, or would

be to the French privateers, for a better sailer than that sloop never was."

This circumstance led to inquiry by the same person, whether, when home or outward bound, two vessels belonging to the Scottish African Company had been seen, the one commanded by Captain Stewart, and the other by Captain Drummond, as both had gone on a voyage beyond the Cape of Good Hope? Haines answered, that although he had heard of them he had not seen them; but, added he, "it is no great matter, you need not trouble yourself about them, for, I believe, you will not see them in haste;" and on being further, urged to an explanation why that should be the case, he said he had heard they had turned pirates, one vessel having eight guns, and the other twelve or fourteen, to the best of his memory.

Some time after this, and from Haines making disclosures to a young woman, of whom he became enamoured, he found it expedient to attempt making his escape. Other two of the crew were to accompany him, and secret preparations were made to accomplish their design; but it was disappointed just when about to be put in execution. Another of the crew did succeed in escaping; however, before proceeding far, he was retaken. The whole were then put into confinement, and brought to trial along with Captain Green. The trial occupied a considerable time; the judges were greatly perplexed by it, and the public opinion much divided concerning the criminality of the people. Sentence was at length pronounced, condemning Captain Green, and thirteen of his crew, to be hanged on the sands of Leith, within flood-mark, on the 4th, 11th, and 18th of April 1705.

Some of the crew made voluntary confessions of the enormity of their guilt, from which it appeared, that before Captain Drummond became their victim, they had made an attempt on a vessel, with fifty oars, which fortunately outsailed them. The native dealer, who purchased Captain Drummond's vessel, was then on board, and drew his sabre, encouraging the crew to the attack. At another time it also appeared they had captured a sloop, and murdered the crew; so that, in all probability, they had long practised the piratical cruelties, for which they at last were brought to justice.

PRESERVATION OF NINE MEN

IN A SMALL BOAT, SURROUNDED BY ISLANDS OF
ICE, ON A VOYAGE TO NEWFOUNDLAND, 1706.
BY ALLEN GEARE.

WE sailed from Plymouth under convoy of his majesty's ship *St Alban's*, and two other ships of war, together with a fleet of merchantmen bound to the Mediteranean, having a fresh gale at north-east.

The wind still continuing, we kept company with the fleet until reaching 120 leagues to the westward: then judging ourselves clear of privateers, we proceeded on our voyage. But before gaining 300 leagues, on the 17th of March we came up with an English built ship of about 200 tons, carrying twelve guns, and sailing under a jury main-mast. On our approach she hoisted English colours; and, on being hailed, told us she belonged to London, and was now bound from Virginia homewards, which seemed probable, as many tame fowl were on board; and a red bird flew from her to us.

Our captain seeing the vessel disabled, desired her to bring to; saying, if any thing was wanted on board, we should hoist out our boat and carry it thither: but this was obstinately refused; the captain declared, that our boat should not ap-

proach, and unless we kept farther off, he would fire into us. This induced suspicion on our part, wherefore we ran up with the vessel, and commanded her to bring to. On this she fired, and engaged us from eleven in the morning until six in the evening; then, being much damaged, she struck, and called to us to save the lives of the crew. But this request came too late, for the wind increasing, raised a great sea, which forced our ship under a reefed main-sail, whence we could not hoist out our boat, without endangering our own lives. However, by means of a light which she carried, we kept close to her, intending to hoist out the boat when it became practicable. But towards midnight her light became very low; and by a loud cry, which was heard about one o'clock, we judged that she foundered.

When the vessel struck she told us that she had fourteen Frenchmen on board, whence we conjectured her to be an English Virginia-man taken by the French; and that she had lost her mainmast in the engagement. We followed her, chasing and fighting about thirty leagues; and when she struck we were in $45^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude.

Our booty being thus lost, we made the best of our way to Newfoundland, being bound thither on a fishing voyage. One trouble, however, seldom comes alone, and so it happened to us: for, on the 26th of March, we saw some shattered ice, at four in the afternoon, which was supposed the harbour ice now broken up. We were now in $46^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude, and conceived ourselves 50 leagues, though it afterwards proved seventy, from the land. The wind being at east, the top-sails were

handed; and we stood northward, under our courses, hoping to get clear of the ice before night. But finding rather more than less, we tacked to the southward, which was found unproductive of any change. Therefore, for further security, the fore-sail was furled, and the ship brought to, under the main-sail, as night approached, and as there was a dead wind, so that we could lie off on neither tack, we trusted, if we should fall in with the greater ice, to meet with the less shocks.

About eight or nine o'clock, we discovered a field of ice, of which we run foul, notwithstanding our exertions to keep clear of it; and although we hung cables, coils of rope, hoops, and such things, over the ship to defend her, she struck so hard, that at eleven she bilged, whence we had much difficulty to keep her afloat till day-light, by two pumps going, and bailing at three hatch-ways.

At the approach of day our men were much fatigued, the water increased, and against noon the hold was half full. No one knew what to advise another, and all began to despair of their lives: we continued pumping, though to little purpose, and concluded, that if now were our appointed time, we must submit patiently to it.

But amidst this disaster, it pleased God to put it into the thoughts of some of us, that several might be preserved in the boat, whence the captain was entreated to hoist her out, and commit a few of us there.

The captain answered, that, although God could work wonders, it was improbable that so small a boat should preserve us; that it was but living a few days longer in misery; and, seeing God had

cast this calamity to his lot, he resolved to take his chance and die with his men.

Nevertheless, being much importuned, he ordered the boat out, and William Saunders and five others in her; and, that the men might not suspect their design, it was given out that the boat should go ahead to tow the ship clear of the ice. How likely that was the reader may judge, there being but one oar, as all the rest were broken by defending the ship from the ice. However, the purpose advanced.

The boat being out, and finding no effect produced in towing the ship, fell a-stern, intending to take in the captain and as many as it could safely carry, while some were preparing necessaries for a miserable voyage. A compass, and other things ready, were conveyed into it.

The captain, doctor, and several others, having got out at the cabin windows and galleries, I, among the rest, endeavoured to escape at the gallery, intending likewise, if possible, to get into the boat; but being discovered by the men, they took small arms, and kept off the boat, resolving, as she could not preserve all, that the whole should perish together.

This design being frustrated, every one, except myself and William Langmead, got into the ship again; but we were so low that we could not recover ourselves. No person coming to relieve us, we were at length forced to let go our hold, and trust to the mercy of those in the boat, who seeing us swimming towards them, hove out a rope and took us in.

We were now eight in number in the boat; and, willing to save our captain, lay hovering about the ship till night; but the men persisting in their

resolution, fired at the boat and kept her off. We began to seek shelter as night approached ; and, having gone among the shattered ice, made fast our boat to a small lump, and drove with it ; and as we came foul of great ice, we removed and made fast to another piece, and so continued during the remainder of the night.

Looking around in the morning, the ship was seen about three leagues to the eastward in the same position as we had left her, whereon a consultation was held whether or not we should return and make another attempt to save the captain, and as many more as possible. This proposal, however, was negatived, every one alleging that the men would either fire on us, or inconsiderately crowd into the boat and sink her ; therefore, it was resolved to make the best of our way to the shore. But I, considering how little it would tend to my honour to save my life, and see my captain perish, endeavoured to persuade them that the ship still swam buoyant, that I hoped the leak was stopped, and that we might proceed on our voyage ; but this was unavailing. When I saw myself unable to prevail thus, I desired them to row up and set me on that part of the ice next the ship, whence I should walk to her, and die with my commander.

This being unanimously agreed to, we rowed to the ice ; but when we reached it, I was loth to go out. However, on calling the captain to us, Mr John Maddick came first, and after him the doctor and some others, which the captain perceiving, came also.

The captain having left the ship, the multitude crowded so eagerly after him that we had like to have spoiled all ; but by chance the boat was got off, with twenty-one people in her and hanging to

her sides. Some were forced to slip ; others perished on the ice, not being able to return to the ship, where the rest were lost.

On the 25th of March we took a miserable farewell of our distressed brethren, the heart of every one being so overladen with his own misery as to have little room to pity another. Next, on considering what course to follow, we resolved to make for the shore.

Our only provision was a small barrel of flour, and a five gallon rundlet of brandy, which had been thrown overboard, and was taken up by us. We also took up an old chest, which stood us in good stead ; for having but one oar, and our ship's handspikes, and a hatchet being by chance in the boat, we could split the chest, and nail it to the handspikes, which were our oars. Nails we had only, by drawing them from different parts of the boat ; and the rest of the chest was used to kindle a fire. It also happened that our main tarpauling, which had been newly tarred, was put into the boat. Of it we made a main-sail ; and of an old piece of canvas, that had been a sail to a yawl, we made a fore-sail. In this condition we turned towards the shore, and observing the surrounding ice lie north and south, we steered north, and in the morning were clear of it.

Having now got into the ocean, and the wind being still easterly, we hoisted our sail, and steered west-north-west about fourteen leagues, when we fell in with another field of ice. Attempting to sail through it, we were enclosed by many great islands, which drove so fast together, that we were forced to haul up our boat on the ice, otherwise we should have inevitably perished.

Here we lay eleven days without once seeing

the sea. As the ice was thick, we caught as many seals as we chose, for they were in great abundance. Our fire hearth was made of the skin, and the fat melted so easily, that we could boil the lean with it.

But by lying so long in this cold region, the men began to complain of their feet; and our boat being too small to afford room for us all, there was always a hideous cry among us of hurting each other, though for this there was no remedy. We kept watch six and six, both for convenience of obtaining room, and to guard against the ice breaking under our boat, which often happened, and then it was necessary to launch, or carry her to a place which we thought strong enough to bear her weight.

In eleven days we saw the sea, and, with great difficulty, got out the boat. We sailed about ten or twelve leagues north-north-west as before, when we were again enclosed; and this was repeated five several times. The last ice, however, was worse than any before, and although it was so thick that we could not force the boat through it, yet it was not so solid as to bear the weight of a man; therefore, notwithstanding we daily saw enough of seals, we could take none.

It fortunately happened, that when we parted from the hard ice, we had seven seals in store, and one that we took dead, which was consumed without consulting how it had died.

We were next reduced to short allowance, having only one among us to serve two days, which, with about three ounces of flour, mixed with water, and boiled in the fat of the seal, was all our provision. At length we were obliged to share both feet and skin, each of us allowing a little fat

to make a fire. But being constrained to eat the whole, skin and bone also, scarcely boiled, injured our stomachs so much, that some of our number died, and I myself suffered severely.

On getting clear of the loose ice, if the wind was so adverse as to prevent our rowing, we made fast the boat to an island of ice until better weather. Although this sheltered us, we were often in great danger, from the islands driving foul of us, so that it was wonderful we escaped.

We drank the ice mixed with brandy; and our provisions, with good management, lasted until coming ashore, for it pleased God to save some of us by taking others to himself. Our companions began to die two or three in a day, until we were at last reduced to nine.

The feet of several who died were bit in such a manner by the frost, that, on stripping them, which was done to give the clothes to the survivors, their toes came away with the stockings. The last that died was the boatswain, who lived until the day before we saw land.

Our compass was broke by the last field of ice through which we passed, and soon after we lost our water-bucket, which was used for baling. Our course was directed by the sun in the day-time, and the stars by night.

Though many other accidents befel us, it pleased the Lord to bring us safe to land, after passing twenty-eight days in the boat.

On the 24th of April we arrived at Baccalew, and thence repaired to the Bay of Verds, in Newfoundland, where we found three men providing for a fishing voyage, who carried us to their house, and gave us such things as they had. But they being indifferently stored, and unable to maintain us, we

determined to go to St John's, notwithstanding some of us were so much frost-bit, as to be obliged to be carried to the boat. Before getting to Cape St Francis, however, the wind veered to the south-west, which compelled us to row all night. In the morning we reached Portugal Cove, where, to our unspeakable joy, some men were found preparing for the summer's fishing. They shewed us so much compassion as to launch a boat, and tow us over to Belleisle, and there we were courteously received. All were so weak that we were carried ashore on men's shoulders; and we were besides so disfigured with hunger, cold, and the oil of seals, that people could hardly recognise us as men, except for the shape. At Belleisle we remained ten days, when, being somewhat recruited, we went to St John's. Thus, in all this extremity, God miraculously preserved nine out of ninety-six that were in the ship.

The names of the survivors were Arthur Holdsworth, captain; Allen Geare, chief-mate; William Saunders, second mate; John Beedol, surgeon; Samuel Penwell, carpenter; John Maddick, Thomas Foord, Elias Sweetland, and William Langmead.

END OF VOLUME FIRST. *

